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Selections.

The Kossuth Excitement.

A LETTER

FROM THE HON. WILLIAM JAY,

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

MY DEAR SIR: I should be unworthy of the place with which I have been honoured in the American Peace Society, did I not view with regret and alarm the present military enthusiasm excited by Kossuth's visit. The touching eloquence of the great Hungarian, a generous sympathy for his brave but unfortunate people, together with the selfish rivalry of political aspirants for the votes of our foreign population, have all conspired to blind the community to the immoral and dangerous character of the rule which, it is now proposed, shall hereafter govern our foreign policy. The London Peace Society has issued a timely note of warning against the seductive influence of Kossuth's efforts in England; and I write to call your attention to the propriety of a similar action on the part of our Society.

Allow me to trespass a little on your time, while I urge some considerations why, both as peace men and as patriotic citizens, deeply interested in the prosperity as well as in the fair character of our country, we should reject the novel policy recommended for our adoption by the earnest and eloquent foreigner who has lately landed on our shores.

What is it that Kossuth asks of the government of the United States? Divested of all circumlocation, his first and chief demand is, that in case Russia shall again assist Austria in quelling an insurrection in Hungary, we shall make war upon her. As in the contingency supposed, Russia would be acting with Austria, it necessarily follows that a war with Russia would necessarily involve a war also with Austria. Hence we are asked, on the occurrence of a certain event, to bring upon our own country, and on the people of two other countries, from neither of which have we received any injuries, the awful sufferings and calamities of war.

On what *principle* is it, let me ask, that we are thus called on to spend our treasure and spill our blood in slaughtering men with whom we have no quarrel, and who have done us no harm? If I understand Kossuth, 'THE LAW OF HUMANITY' requires us to prevent, by force of arms, a *third* nation from interfering between *two* belligerents, taking the part of one against the other. When two nations are at war, all others are bound to remain passive spectators of the combat. But, should one of the spectators presume to mingle in the fight, then, by 'the law of humanity,' all the rest have the right, and are in duty bound to fall foul of him, to kill his people, and desolate his country, till he retires from the contest into which he had obtruded.

Of course, this law pays no regard to the matter in dispute between the original belligerents. Whether one party is waging a war of plunder, or of defence, makes no difference; because, if it did, the wrong of intervention in *any* case would be changed into the right of intervention in *every* case where the intervening party *believed* one side right, and the other wrong.

Let me now take a nearer view of this newly discovered, or at least newly imported, law of humanity. A law requiring such tremendous sacrifices, and the infliction of such tremendous sufferings as are involved in WAR, must emanate from high authority, even from the Supreme Lawgiver. It is not, indeed, found in the code he has given to man, and must, therefore, be a deduction, a necessary inference, from some revealed statute. Probably this law is regarded as a corollary of the command, 'Do good unto all men.' Yet even this command has its limits prescribed by the consequences resulting from its attempted execution. In order to do good by extirpating heresy, multitudes have been sent to the scaffold and the stake; but it is now generally conceded, that the command does not require us to do good at such a cost of human life and happiness. Without inquiring whether the sword can ever be righteously drawn, it will. I think, be admitted by all, that it *never ought* to be drawn without a well-founded conviction that the good it will probably effect will compensate and justify the terrible evils it will *certainly* inflict. But the principle I am examining puts aside all deliberation, and dogmatically establishes the lawfulness of *every* war waged by a *fourth* against a *third* belligerent. Should Russia attempt to seize upon Denmark, and should England go to the rescue of the latter, then we are to make war upon England, and, of course, upon Denmark. Should Ireland declare her independence, and should France espouse her cause against England, then it would be our duty to commence hostilities against France, and thus practically take sides against Ireland. As great moral principles are obligatory at all times, under similar circumstances, it follows, that when in our revolutionary struggle, France interfered in our behalf, it was the duty of Russia, and indeed of all other nations, to have gone to war with our ally. Now, I intend no injustice to Kossuth and his American disciples, and most freely admit that nothing is further from their thoughts than such an *impartial* application of the 'law of humanity.' The idea certainly never entered into their minds, that should England, in a future struggle between Austria and Hungary, think proper to assist the latter, the United States would be bound to fight England.

It is very obvious that the new principle of intervention to prevent intervention, however unqualified in its announcement, is to be *applied* in a very restricted sense, since, if *generally* applied, it would often operate in behalf of injustice and oppression, and would draw after it the absurd consequence, that no nation could lawfully vindicate its just rights against an offending nation, so long as that nation was engaged in war with any other.

What, then, *in truth and in fact*, is this 'law of humanity,' by which we are asked to govern our foreign relations of peace and war? I take it to be a law, that whenever a *colony or province is in revolt*, we shall fight any and every power that presumes to assist the parent State in quelling the revolt. To give to this law the colour of equity, it is most expressly stated that there should be *no* interference between the parties; but care is taken to denounce the penalty of war *only* against interference in behalf of the parent State. Yet, strange as it may seem, this doctrine of non-interference, which we are urged to go to war to maintain, is continually denounced, both in theory and practice, by the very orators who advance it. We are warned not to ask ourselves, as a nation, the question of Cain, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' We are reminded of the Christian duty of loving our neighbour as ourselves—we are taunted with selfishness, and want of manhood, in standing by and letting the strong oppress the weak. If we may not suffer Russia to *aid* Austria in crushing Hungary, why should we suffer Austria to crush her? Why should the 'law of humanity' require us to permit England to crush Ireland, Canada or Jamaica, or Russia to crush Poland, or the French Republic to crush the Roman Republic? If the law of humanity forbids all intervention, on what plea does it authorize the gift of money to one party to buy powder and ball to shoot the soldiers of the other! In my opinion, the dictum about intervention to prevent intervention does not rise to the dignity of a principle. It has no consistency about it. It has no basis. If universally applied, it may become the auxiliary of cruelty and despotism. If applied only in behalf of subjects in revolt, it takes for granted that every insurrection is justifiable, and would, if successful, be salutary, and that it is desired and supported by the mass of the inhabitants of the insurgent territory, all which assumptions we know in many cases to be wholly unwarranted.

So far as human freedom is concerned, the records of history testify that the sword has, in all ages, with few exceptions, been its most potent foe; and that no despotism has ever been established but through its instrumentality. I have no recollection of a free government being converted into an arbitrary one, but by military despotism. I believe war, in its tendency, is most disastrous to human happiness, here and hereafter; and I also believe that peaceful agitation and passive resistance are the most certain and efficient means of acquiring and maintaining a free and just government.

So strong is the repugnance among us to taking human life, that it is with difficulty the penalty for murder can be enforced; yet we have lately seen persons of all classes in the community, not excepting even ministers of the Prince of Peace, in a delirium of excitement receiving with wild applause the proposition for war, that is, the proposition to kill thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-men who have done us no harm, for the sole purpose of conferring upon a distant nation certain political institutions, which, when obtained, may prove far otherwise than blessings. In all this, I see nothing of the spirit of the gospel of Jesus Christ—nothing calculated to make mankind wiser, better, or happier; but much, very much, to strengthen the hands of the oppressor, to augment the amount of human wretchedness and wickedness, and to hasten the day when our own republic shall be merged in a military despotism.

And, now, will you bear with me while I take another view of the subject, and show you that we cannot adopt Kossuth's proposition without being guilty of the grossest and most disgusting hypocrisy, and without condemning in Russia the very same policy which we have ourselves pursued? Is it decent, is it compatible with truth and candour, for a republic like ours, which tramples in the dust THREE MILLIONS of its own people, annihilating all their rights, civil and religious, reducing them to the condition of beasts of burden, and enacting that every 'good citizen' is a slave-catcher—is it decent, I ask, for such a republic to affect a zeal for human rights so ardent as to make war upon every foreign nation that denies to a portion of its subjects an elective government, or universal suffrage? Surely, I need not allude to our slave hunts, and our treason trials, to prove that we are not precisely qualified, by our own practice, to assume among the nations of the earth the part of champion of the rights of man.

Kossuth is not probably aware, that the United States have claimed the same right of intervention for the suppression of human liberty, which Russia has exercised, and for which he invokes upon her the execrations of the civilized world. Let me call your attention to some historical facts.

We are now exhorted to disregard the actual blockade of a revolted port, and to insist on the right of trading with whom we please, at all hazards. In 1806, St. Domingo, which was then, and has ever been, an independent State, was claimed as a colony by France. The naval superiority of Great Britain prevented France from landing an army on the island, or keeping a single ship of war on the coast. Under these circumstances, Napoleon conceived the idea of starving the island into submission, by depriving it of the provisions it was accustomed to receive from the United States. Accordingly, the French Minister at Washington addressed a letter to the government, complaining of our commerce with 'the rebels of St. Domingo,' adding, 'the Emperor and King, my master, expects from the dignity and candour of the government of the United States that *an end be put to it promptly.*' Promptly did Congress obey the imperial mandate; and on the 6th Feb., a few weeks after the Emperor had signified his pleasure, was passed 'An act to suspend the commercial intercourse between the United States and *certain parts* of the island of St. Domingo.' As a compliment to the Emperor, these 'certain parts' were defined in the act to be such parts as were *not* in the possession and under the acknowledgment of France,' and of course included the whole island. Here, then, was a direct commercial intervention in behalf, not of liberty, but of despotism.

Twenty-five years after Hayti had asserted and maintained her independence, Mr. Clay, Secretary of State, in his instructions (8th May, 1826) to our Ministers at Panama, remarked, 'Under the actual circumstances of Hayti, the President does not think that it would be proper at this time to recognise it as a new State.' Our Ministers were to attend a Congress at Panama, at which the American Republics were to be represented, and the influence of the United States was thus to be exerted in the Congress, to prevent the recognition of Hayti by that body. Here was a direct diplomatic intervention against a free State, and solely because it *was* a *free* State. Said Mr. Berrien, of Georgia, in Congress, 'Consistently with our safety, can the people of the South *permit* the intercourse which would result from the establishment of relations of any sort with Hayti?' Said Mr. Benton, on the same occasion, 'The peace of eleven States in this Union will not *permit* the fruits of a successful negro insurrection to be exhibited among them.' Said Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina, 'Let our government direct all our Ministers in South America and Mexico to *protest* against the independence of Hayti.' The monarchical governments of Europe have long since acknowledged the independence of Hayti, which has now been maintained for half a century; but *we* refuse, from considerations respecting the perpetuity of despotic authority in certain portions of the republic. Surely, it does not become *us* to censure, much less to kill, Russians for having a similar regard to the perpetuity of their own institutions.

Let us see what further precedents Russia may derive from our history, to justify her intervention against Hungary. In 1825, Spain was at war with her revolted colonies, Mexico and Colombia. Here, then, was precisely such a war as, according to Kossuth, no intervention by a third party should be tolerated. Cuba remained attached to the mother country, as did Canada in our revolutionary struggle. Of course, Mexico and Colombia had the same right to turn their arms against Cuba as we had to assail Canada. News reached Washington that our young sister republics were about making a descent upon Cuba. Should Cuba be conquered, its inhabitants would acquire their freedom, and freedom in Cuba would be dangerous to despotism on the Southern shores of the United States. The Cabinet at Washington was no less alarmed at the prospect of such near contiguity to enfranchised people than was the Russian Czar at the Hungarian insurrection. Mr. Clay instructed our Minister at the Panama Congress to make known, that in view of the probable results of the contemplated struggle in Cuba, it would be the duty of the United States 'to defend themselves against the *contagion* of such near and dangerous examples'; they would be constrained, 'even at the hazard of loosing the friendship of Mexico and Colombia, to employ all the means necessary to their security.' In other words, they would go to war with Mexico and Colombia to secure Cuba to the crown of Spain, and thus to save themselves from the *contagion* of emancipation. Already had an application been made to the King of Spain to avert the danger of freedom in Cuba, by terminating the war with his revolted colonies. '*It is not for the new republics,*' wrote Mr. Clay to our Minister at Madrid (27th April, 1825), 'that the President wishes you to urge upon Spain the expediency of concluding the war. If the war should continue between Spain and the new republics, and those islands (Cuba and Porto Rico) should become the object and theatre of it, *their fortunes have such a connection with the people of the United States*, that they could not be indifferent spectators; and the possible contingencies of a protracted war might bring upon the government of the United States duties and obligations, *the performance of which, however painful it should be, they might not be at liberty to decline.*' This threat made to Spain could only mean that, if necessary, we would ourselves take possession of Cuba and Porto Rico, rather than witness their inhabitants in the possession of human rights. Besides bullying the new republics, and threatening the Spanish King, we actually solicited the kind offices of the Emperor of Russia (!) to secure the subjection of Cuba to Spain, by terminating the war. Said Mr. Clay, in his instructions to our Minister at St. Petersburg, 'From the vicinity of Cuba to the United States, its valuable commerce, and the *nature of its population*, their government cannot be indifferent to any political change to which that island may be destined.' So we sought an alliance with the Czar, in upholding the most horrible species of despotism, from fear of the *contagion* of its abolition. Mr. Van Buren followed Mr. Clay as Secretary of State, and he also instructed our Minister at Madrid (22d Oct., 1829) to press the King to make peace, not for the sake of the new republics, not for the sake of human liberty, but to perpetuate human misery and degradation. Very frankly did this gentleman avow, '*considerations connected with a certain class of our population* make it the interest of the Southern section of the Union that no attempt should be made in that island to *throw off the yoke of Spanish dependence.*'

And now suffer me to ask, if it was the interest of Russia to guard against the 'contagion' of free institutions in an adjacent territory, had she not as good a right, by the laws of nations and of God, to take measures to prevent Hungary from throwing off the yoke of Austrian dependence, as we had to endeavour to fasten on Cuba the yoke of Spanish dependence? Russia, to effect her purpose, was compelled to go to war, while we, although ready and willing to do the same, were spared the necessity. Listen to one of many of our orators in Congress on this point: 'If,' said Mr. Berrien, 'our interest and our safety require us to say to these new republics, Cuba and Porto Rico *must remain* as they are, we are free to say it, and by the blessing of God, and *the strength of our arms*, to enforce the declaration; and let me say to gentlemen, these high considerations do require it. The vital interests of the South DEMAND it.' And now we are called upon to make war, and kill people, for following precisely in our own footsteps!

I regard Kossuth as a great man, and trust he is a conscientious one. I have already expressed my gratitude to him for the utterance of certain great truths which are practically repudiated by our cutaneous democracy. But, while I do justice to his talents, earnestness and patriotism, I am compelled to believe that he is asking what it would be a sin and a folly in us to grant.

I am, my dear Sir,
Yours, very truly,
WILLIAM JAY.

Rev. G. C. BECKWITH,
Secretary American Peace Society, Boston.
New York, Jan. 3, 1852.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

I HAVE recently become acquainted with some facts in reference to the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, which are sufficiently interesting and important to be made public. For obvious reasons I must omit the names of places. These facts may be relied upon.

In one of the cities of New England, there is a small Baptist church of coloured people. It consists of 120 members. Of these 60 had escaped from Southern bondage, and were consequently on the list of the proscribed by the Fugitive Slave Law. The old law had become a dead letter. Unconscious of danger, they were pursuing, industriously and cheerfully, their several avocations, when this dreadful edict was announced. The panic was terrible. Fathers were in danger of being torn from their wives and children. Mothers were liable, at any moment, to be hurried away from their families. As it is the law of Slavery, that the child is to follow the womb which bore it, the children of these mothers, born of free fathers, baptised in free churches, and educated in free schools, were liable at any time to be manacled and sold to Southern taskmasters. In consternation the little church met, and with prayers and tears implored the aid of God.

The slave-hunter was immediately after them. Writs were out for their arrest. They trembled by day and by night. They dared not appear in the street. They dared not enter the shop. They dared not go forth to labour. They hid in garrets and cellars. Affectionate daughters conveyed food to the father, whom the slave-hunter, like a blood-hound, was tracking out. The church, poor and feeble as it was, raised $500 to aid their brethren in their helplessness and terror. The alternative before the victims was terrible. They must either be dragged back into Slavery, or, abandoning their families, exile themselves alone, in poverty and friendlessness, in Canada; or selling out, at any sacrifice, all their little concerns, trudge their weary way, with their wives and their little ones, to the cold North, where there was no home to receive them, no friends to greet them, and where perhaps starvation was to be their lot. But any doom was preferable to the doom of Slavery. Nearly all these persons, whose only crime is that they love liberty, have fled from the stars and the stripes of our free Republic, to find protection beneath the banner of monarchical England. Some escaped in vessels to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Some have toiled along on foot through the drifting snows to Canada. Some selling their little all, and aided by the contributions of their Christian friends, have taken the rail cars, with their children, and escaped to the free soil of Queen Victoria. Some yet remain. They hope that the opposition which has been manifested towards the law, that the warm denunciation which it has encountered from so many generous hearts, may dissuade the slave-hunter from attempting to molest them. But they live in constant terror. Every now and then there is a rumour, that their dreaded foe has been seen prowling about their dwellings, looking with evil eye upon their children. The announcement sends the blood rushing back upon their fainting hearts.

No pen can describe the sufferings which have been and still are endured. They feel that in the darkest night of despotism, a more tyrannical edict never crushed human hearts. Those who have escaped into Siberian exile, have encountered a fate almost as deplorable as that of those they have left behind. The friends they love, and whose sympathies they prize, they have lost forever. The church where they loved to meet, to sing and to pray, finding solace for the woes of life in the anticipation of immortal blessedness, they can never enter more.—Those warm homes, where they enjoyed that social companionship which the affectionate race love so well, they have exchanged for loneliness, poverty and suffering.

Is not a law, of which this is not its exaggeration, but its natural operation, a disgrace to the age, and a tenfold disgrace to the country which tolerates it? Is it not expecting too much, even of fallen human nature, to think that Christians and patriots can contemplate it with silent complacency? There is a God of justice! He will cause even the wrath of man to praise him. But his ear will not forever be closed to the cry of the oppressed.

JOHN S. C. ABBOTT..

BRUNSWICK, Me., Jan. 1852.

—*N. Y. Evangelist.*

VETO OF THE "OBSTRUCTION BILL."

ON the 8th instant, Governor Johnston sent into the Senate of Pennsylvania his objections to the passage of the Bill of last session, for granting the use of jails of that State for the safekeeping of Fugitive Slaves. It is as follows:

To the Senate of Pennsylvania:

SENATORS—An act entitled "An act to repeal the Sixth Section of an act to prevent kidnapping and preserve the peace, prohibit the exercise of certain powers heretofore exercised by Judges, Justices of the Peace, and Jailers of this Commonwealth, and to repeal certain Slave Laws," has been held under advisement since the adjournment of the last Legislature.

In obedience to the provisions of the Constitution, I return this bill to the Senate, where it originated, without my approval, and with my reasons for withholding it. To those reasons, founded on the clearest sense of duty and of official responsibility, I invite your candid attention. They are now for the first time given, because now, for the first time since the passage of this act, has an opportunity offered to confer with those to whom my reasons may be important and with whom they may be operative. The section proposed to be repealed is in these words, "It shall not be lawful to use any jail or prison of this Commonwealth for the detention of any person claimed as a fugitive from servitude or labour, except in cases where jurisdiction may lawfully be taken by any judge, under the provisions of this act; and any jailor or keeper of any prison, or other person who shall offend against the provisions of this section, shall, on conviction thereof, pay a fine of five hundred dollars; one-half thereof for the use of the Commonwealth and the other half to the person who prosecutes; and shall moreover, thenceforth be removed from office, and be incapable of holding such office of jailor or keeping of a prison at any time during his natural life." It is part of a law passed in the year 1847, under the Executive Administration of my predecessor, and by votes unanimous, or nearly so, of both branches of the Legislature. The bill under consideration is confined to the repeal of the section prohibiting the use of our prisons as places of detention for fugitives from labour. If the legislation proposed, authorizes the use of the prisons, it is in repugnance to the Constitution of the United States as expounded by the Supreme Court. By a decision made in derogation of the local statutes of Pennsylvania, the Supreme Court of the United States, held in so many words that all State legislation on the subject of reclamation of fugitives from labour, whether to obstruct, or to aid it, to hinder or promote it, is absolutely and entirely prohibited. The legislation of Congress supersedes all State legislation on the subject, and by necessary implication prohibits it.

The States cannot enact auxiliary provisions on the subject. This is the very language. If, therefore, an act of Assembly were passed, authorizing the several County Commissioners to erect safe houses of detention for persons claimed as fugitives from labour, under such regulations as the Legislature or its agents might prescribe, for the reception and safe keeping of the inmates, such a law would be unconstitutional, and consequently void, and any single discontented citizen of a county might have it so declared. I am unable to see any difference in this respect between the special construction of such places of detention regulated and controlled by State authority and State agents, and the permission to use those already erected and regulated by general laws. It is the State law interfering in the question of the alleged fugitive and his claimant, and such laws the Supreme Court of the United States has pronounced unconstitutional. It is not the legislation of Pennsylvania that has closed our jails against the reception of such fugitives, but a formal decision of the Supreme Court, declaring our former statute on this subject unconstitutional; a decision which, until reversed, is binding on every department of the government.

Nor were the certain consequences of this doctrine, thus solemnly adjudicated, unforseen. The present Chief Justice of the United States, an eminent jurist, and a citizen of the State of Maryland, in dissenting from the opinion of the Court, expressed his belief that these very effects would be produced, and foretold the time, when State agency being repudiated, and State prisons closed by this very decision, "the territory of the neighbouring States would become open pathways for fugitives from labour." These are his words, and they conclusively show in what light he understood the judgment thus pronounced. I am aware it has been alleged that the point herein mentioned, as decided, did not arise in the case. It is answered, that the Judges of the Court, in their several decisions, declared otherwise.

The Chief Justice, who was present and took part in the hearing, and whose dissenting opinion furnishes his views of what was decided, says, "But as I understand the opinion of the Court, it goes further, and decides that the power to provide a remedy for this right is exclusively vested in Congress, and that all laws upon the subject by a State, since the adoption of the Constitution, are null and void."

Justice Wayne says, "In that opinion it is decided; 3, That the legislation by Congress upon the provisions, as the supreme law of the land, excludes all State legislation upon the same subject; and that no State can pass any law or regulation, or interpose such as may have been law or regulation when the Constitution of the United States was ratified, to superadd, to control, to qualify, or impede a remedy enacted by Congress for the delivery of fugitive slaves," then adds, after a learned argument sustaining this view, "I consider the point I have been maintaining more important than any other in the opinion of the Court;" alleging, as confirmation, that this was a point decided, that only three of the nine Judges, composing the Court, assented.

Justice McLean makes the inquiry, "does the provision in regard to the reclamation of the fugitive slaves vest the power exclusively in Congress?" and answers, "the nature of the power shows that it must be conclusive." "It is contended that the power to execute it rests with the States. The law was designed to protect the rights of the slaveholder against the States opposed to those rights, and yet by this argument, the effective power is in the hands of those on whom it is to operate." It is essential therefore to the uniform efficacy of this constitutional provision, that it should be considered exclusively a Federal power."

This judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States determines the law, for my guidance, and for yours, whatever may be our individual convictions upon the subject. If, then, a prison cannot be built, under State laws, for the detention of fugitives—if a prison already built, and subject to State regulations and rules, respecting its inmates, cannot be used; and if, in short, all State legislation, of whatever kind, is prohibited by a solemn decree of the Supreme Court—is it not more than idle to pass an act restorative of laws thus expressly declared and known in advance to be unconstitutional? The writ of habeas corpus would run into these unconstitutional places of detention; the federal Judiciary would themselves have to decide the question.

The State Judges, in counties where there is no United States Judge, and where the fugitive is committed by a mere Commissioner, would be required to issue the writ of right; and that which the friends of this repeal have claimed as a great boon to the claimants, would be worse than a mockery. The claim he now has on the Marshal and his sureties for indemnification for the escape of his servant, would be converted into a barren claim against a county jailor, whose first duty it would be to discharge a prisoner thus held if he claimed his liberty. Not so was the law formerly, and before it was decided that all State legislation on the subject is prohibited—not so will it be hereafter, if the principle of the decision of the Supreme Court be practically carried out, and this whole vexed and vexatious subject be left to the administration of the United States officers.

An act of Congress of the 18th September, 1850, commonly known as the Fugitive Slave Bill, would seem to favour the same views entertained by Judge Story, and pronounced in the decision to which reference has been made. Its whole tenor shows this, and more than one of its detailed provisions confirm it. The custody of the fugitive, by State authority, is almost forbidden.

The Marshal and his sureties are made subject to a pecuniary liability, for an escape, which, as the Supreme Court of the United States have decided, in a precisely analogous case, is defeated the instant the prisoner is transferred to a local jail.

In counties where there is no Marshal, the agent of the Commissioner is charged with the exclusive custody of the fugitive, and is allowed, by the 8th section, his expenses for keeping him in custody and providing him with food and lodging during his detention.

Surely no one can pretend to say, that this is not a full and exclusive exercise of the federal power on the subject. If so, the principle of constitutional law, to which I have referred, is interposed, and the legislation of a State to transfer this custody to a local prison is prohibited. Is it not, then, most conducive to peace and good order, and the harmonious administration of the law, that this whole subject be left where the Constitution places it, in the hands of the United States authorites.

I have thus frankly stated to the Senate my reasons for withholding my approval of this bill. I have limited them strictly, guarding myself against any expressions liable to misconstruction, to considerations of constitutional law. I ask for them a candid and careful consideration.

WM. F. JOHNSTON.

Executive Chamber, Harrisburg, Jan. 1852.

The bill being subjected to a vote, there appeared 19 yeas and 14 nays—not two-thirds. The bill is therefore rejected.

THE SOIREE IN BEHALF OF THE FUGITIVES.

WE were not able to give a report of all the speeches delivered on the late occasion, but the first address contains so very interesting a detail of the proceedings of the Association in aid of the Fugitives, that we make room for it entire. After a few preliminary remarks, THOMAS HENNING, Esq., said that so early as the year 1793, the Congress of the United States passed an act in which occurs the following enactment—"That when a person held to labour in any of the United States, or in any of the territories, shall escape into any other of the said States or territories, the person to whom such labour or service may be due, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labour, and (after certain forms specified) to remove said fugitive to the State or territory from which he or she has fled." From that date up to 1850, this law was comparatively a dead letter, when an act to "amend and supplement it," was enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled. I refer, as most of you are aware, to that infamous Act, popularly styled the Fugitive Slave Bill—a Bill well designated to be an audacious violation of the first principles of Civil Liberty, the Common Law, the Constitution of the United States, and the law of God. "For my own part," says Judge Jay, one of the brightest ornaments of the American Bar, "I regard the Bill as a most gross usurpation of power in Congress—a plain, palpable violation of the Constitution—an outrage on the religious and benevolent sensibilities of the community, and a disgrace to our national character." A few words touching the provisions of this Bill: 1st. It aims to compel every man, woman and child in the Free States, to become a slave catcher, and in consequence an aider and abettor in promoting the cause of Slavery, and reducing to servitude those happily free. At the bidding of the most cruel and debased slave-driver, *every mechanic, every minister, every philanthropist, and Christian* is bound to assist in carrying into execution this infamous law. However long the Fugitive may have resided amongst them—whether engaged in an honourable occupation, or seated at his fire-side, surrounded by an affectionate family, or worshipping God in the sanctuary, he may be seized, and his minister and fellow Christians be commanded to fasten the chains upon him, and drag him back to the degradation and horrors of Southern Slavery. 2nd. This Bill subjects to a fine of one thousand dollars, with imprisonment for six months, a person who harbours or conceals a Fugitive, with the view of preventing the discovery or arrest, if, as in the case of Hanway and others, they are not tried for treason, and threatened with the felon's death. 3d. Further, persons not Fugitive Slaves are liable to be carried off under this Bill. A coloured person brought into a Free State by his legal owner, and therefore free by the law of the Free State—the children born of Fugitives in a Free State—a person once a slave, who has lost his free papers—all coloured persons in the free States, wherever born—indeed every coloured person is liable to be seized, *certificated*, ironed, and carried with railroad speed into a slave State, on the perjured testimony of any two miscreants, before a legally-bribed Commissioner, ere even his family, neighbours, or friends know anything of the matter. Well, the dread of being carried back, to undergo once more the sufferings of Slavery, aptly defined as the "sum of all villanies," has driven hundreds of its poor victims to cast themselves upon the humanity and generous liberality of you, Fellow-citizens, and others in this land, which enjoys, like Britain, of which, I am proud to say, it forms an important colony, the blessings of true liberty. They have come to you imploring your sympathy and protection from the man-stealer. They ask you to think of the Saviour's golden rule, "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you." They ask you to ponder well the precept of the inspired Apostle, "Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them." They plead that though of different colour yet the same blood flows in their veins as in yours. They plead that by nature they have the same right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," which you and your children have. They plead their claim on your sympathy, because they are poor, and friendless and destitute—and I am happy to add, that they have received it; for generosity and humanity are the distinguishing characteristics of the heart of a Briton. In the month of February last, was held a numerously attended public meeting in the hall close by. It was presided over by his worship, the Mayor, who has continued to evince a deep interest in the cause of the slave, as well as in the other benevolent institutions of the city in which he holds the distinguished rank of Chief Magistrate. At this meeting a society was organized, a committee of gentlemen appointed, at the head of which was placed the Rev. Dr. Willis, long known as the tried friend of the oppressed in this and other lands. A constitution was drawn up—an appeal on behalf of the Fugitive was published, and some good service done, but one thing was yet lacking, to render the Society effective in a direction the most practical, and, withal, the most pressing, and that was *the co-operation of the Ladies.* The instinctive perception of the Ladies had already notified them of this defect, and their keen sensibility to suffering had already prompted an effort to remedy it. In the month of April a large and very interesting meeting of ladies took place, and a unanimous resolution was passed, to form an association with the view of advising and aiding the unfortunate coloured fugitives, particularly those of their own sex, who, exiles for liberty's sake, besought protection and a home. For their president, they chose a lady distinguished alike for her liberality, bland yet dignified manner and christian worth, and for their Treasurer, a lady of unwearying energy and zeal in the cause of suffering humanity, and whose house and purse are ever open to the Fugitive, and a committee of ladies, to whose self-denying, well directed labours I can bear abundant testimony. You will have anticipated me when I add that the success of the ladies' association has been both gratifying and cheering to every benevolent heart. The downcast and dejected have been, through their instrumentality, cheered and inspirited—the hungry and houseless have been fed and sheltered and the sorrowing soothed. The idle hands have been provided with the means of employment, and the presence of such a large, and respectable assemblage as that I have now the honour to address, gives good promise that these blessings shall not be denied to such as may come hereafter. Such, then, is the origin, such the aim of the Ladies' Association, and yet, good as is the end sought after, unobjectionable the means employed to attain this end, and self-denying as are the labours of those using these means, still cold hearted selfishness can object and obstruct. Permit me to name one or two of those specious objections which are sometimes offered, and which, when proposed, demand a reply. Well, foremost amongst these is one which, at first sight, does seem formidable. Says one lady, I cannot contribute for these negroes, *they are really a bad set*—they *steal*—they tell *what is untrue*—they do all manner of wicked things. Now, it is quite likely that some of them observe not the 8th Commandment—that others are not remarkable for their veracity—some of them are ungrateful—some of them, perhaps very wicked; but allow me to ask, which of these crimes is peculiar to negroes? Farther, who will undertake to say that if the same number of whites be brought up in the midst of such ignorance, such utter degradation, bodily and mental, be taught to call truth and falsehood and falsehood truth—be taught to regard the decalogue as inapplicable to them, who will undertake to say that the same number of whites thus schooled in vice and licentiousness will not exhibit symptoms of depravity as marked as they? But I must add, and I am confident that those of you who have the best right to know, will bear me out in the assertion, that with all the disadvantages under which they labour, Coloured People, by no means, prove themselves the worthless class which ignorance or prejudice would lead the world to believe. But grant them to be just what these objectors plead, and where lies the force of their argument. Are we to forbid them to rest for a day on British soil, consecrated as it is by the genius of universal emancipation, though they come bleeding and weary, and faint, hotly pursued for many a long day and solitary night, by those ruthless savages, who impiously, before high heaven, assert that they can hold property in man and that they alone possess a "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;" or, are we, when they come, to deny food to the hungry, clothes to cover the naked, a word of comfort and consolation to the lacerated heart—oh, surely, this is not the morality of the New Testament—surely, this is not the language of the Sermon on the Mount; surely this will not comport with the character of those who hope to hear the Judge pronounce those solemn words—"inasmuch as ye did it to the least of these my servants, ye did it unto me." On the contrary, if the coloured people are ignorant, degraded, wicked, unhappy, just so much the stronger are the claims which they possess upon your charity, your benevolence and your care. But a second ob jects to aid, because there are so many poor Irish, and I am not sure but they sometimes add English, and Scotch. Now we seek not to deny that there are many poor Irish and others of the Anglo Saxon race in great destitution, and who possess strong claims on the sympathy and aid of their fellow men; and we are delighted to learn that they find advocates in the persons of our objectors—but we humbly submit to such individuals, whether or not the coloured man, from the circumstances in which he is placed, does not imperatively demand the most immediate attention. We suggest that there are national societies, with ample funds ready to meet at least the pressing demands of their countrymen—but no American society to whom we can direct the hungry slave. We add, if our objector has patience to hear us, that the Anglo Saxon or the Celt is not likely to starve, while he can ask, but that we have found cases in which the negro, black as he is, had been fasting for four-and-twenty-hours, and yet was too proud to beg—and if this is listened to, we hint as to the *prejudice* which is such a bar to the happiness of the coloured man—for even on British soil, we sometimes forget the admonition addressed to the Prophet Samuel—"*Look not on his countenance*, for the Lord seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh at the outward appearance, *but the Lord looketh at the heart.*" While many would not hesitate for a moment to give a night's lodging to the white, however black at heart (benevolent though they might be), the man of colour could not find an entrance into the family, or if he did, he would be removed to as large a distance as the premises would permit. But, sir, arguments convince not this class of objectors. They want *hearts*, not *heads*. The truth is, they are just those who do the very least possible good of any kind to anybody. Sir, it is the ladies of the Association for the relief of Coloured Destitute Fugitives, or their supporters, who do almost all the benevolent deeds that this Society receives. Who are the different Congregations to which they belong, who do most for the spread of the truth both at home and abroad. Who are the most active in carrying on the business of the different benevolent institutions of this city for all classes. Just the members of the Ladies' Association for the relief of destitute *coloured* fugitives. A third and last objection. Well, say some ladies and some gentlemen too, when invited to aid in this work—all this may be true, but—"I have no taste for such things." To these we say, suppose Wilberforce and Clarkson, had had no "taste" for stopping the horrors of the Slave Trade. Suppose Howard and Mrs. Fry to have had no "taste" for exploring and exposing the abominations of the Prison House, and for relieving the wretched inmates. Suppose Miss Dix to have had no "taste" for carrying solace and comfort to the insane. Suppose these things, and I might add many others—and in what a different condition would the charities and the sufferings of the world have been! True, many walk daily in the midst of sufferings and distress, and catch not the slightest tone of sorrow, but just in proportion as the light of civilization and Christianity illumes the world, will men and women be found who have a "taste" for succouring the afflicted and for aiding the destitute It was the clearest proof of the Great Teacher's mission, that *he had* a "taste" for going about, doing good. But, ladies, most of these remarks are inapplicable to you; may I not presume, however, that there are some here, who, if not cold, are yet indifferent in the matter, who, if not prejudiced against those whose welfare the Ladies' Association seeks to promote, are so unacquainted with their dispositions, infirmities, sorrows and sufferings, as to feel uninterested in their case. If so, I beg you to remember that *ignorance* regarding them is the mother of *prejudice* against them; if, therefore, you would keep free from the one, avoid the other. A writer who possessed a deep insight into the working of the human heart, tells us, that ignorance of each other's character, more than any other cause, represses the social sentiments and checks every benign emotion. It does so, by giving room to suspicion and by depriving the imagination of its means of vividly conceiving of the actual feelings or sorrows of those around us, for that which the imagination does not realize the heart does not heed. It is this principle that explains much of the apparent insensibility and indifference to the sufferings of others, which is shown by the mass of mankind. Ladies, this is a cause in which you cannot justly be indifferent, for wherever oppression rules, the *female* portion of the afflicted race suffer in a three fold degree. In conclusion, then, I would invoke your sympathies and aid in the cause of benevolence and philanthropy. Your power is confessedly great; use it, ladies, in behalf of the slave, and for the benefit of oppressed humanity, and "when you meet a cold calculator, who thinks by arithmetic when he is called to feel the wrongs of oppressed brethren, convert him, ladies. Your smiles are commands, and the truth which pours forth from your hearts, is mightier than the logic articulated by any scholar. The Peri excluded from Paradise, brought many generous gifts to heaven in order to regain it. She brought the dying sigh of a patriot: the kiss of a faithful girl imprinted on the lips of her bridegroom, distorted by the venom of the plague. She brought many other fair gifts; but the doors of Paradise opened before her only when she brought with her the first prayer of a man converted to charity and brotherly love for his oppressed brethren and humanity."—*Toronto Globe.*

THE fitness of the American Minister at the Court of St. James for the service of the Republic is made apparent by the following correspondence, recently sent to Congress. Mr. Lawrence is mindful of the truth taught in the parable, and hopes, doubtless, by proving his faithfulness in small things, to be found worthy of being trusted with greater. Were William and Ellen Craft fearful that they were about to be kidnapped and taken out of England, and should appeal to Mr.

accomplish the object in a more satisfactory manner by a personal interview. I accordingly called on Lord Palmerston, in the absence of Lord Grey, and received from him a verbal explanation, disclaiming any such purpose as Mr. Owens had drawn from the language of the despatch. On Lord Grey's return to town, I received from him an informal note to the same effect. I immediately wrote Mr. Owens a note, embodying the substance of these explanations, and received from him a reply, dated at Liverpool, expressing dissatisfaction with them. Not knowing what use he may make in the United States of the circular despatch, I deem it my duty to place you in possession of a copy of my letter to him. I have read this letter to Lord Palmerston, and have received from him an assurance that it is entirely in accordance with his own views, with the views of Lord Grey, and with those of the Cabinet Ministers.

The despatch in question was, as you will see, sent to the West Indies some time in the autumn of 1850, and as it has never been heard of in the United States, I apprehend it was never acted upon by the Colonial Legislatures. It grew out of the action of the late Mr. Turnbull, who was, I believe, of the mixed Commission of Cuba, and an agent of this government in matters connected with the slave trade. He was in Washington about two years since, and while there saw many persons of Maryland, Virginia, and other Southern States, respecting the free coloured people of those States, and communicated the result of his observations to this government.

I should not have thought it necessary to trouble you with this matter if Mr. Owens had expressed himself satisfied with my letter.

I have the honour to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant, ABBOTT LAWRENCE.
Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, Secretary of State, Washington.

Extracts from the Antigua Weekly Register, published in the city of St. John's, 20th November, 1850.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,
Thursday, November 21, 1850.

When the House was formed, which was not before two o'clock, Mr. Speaker informed the House that he had received a message from the Governor-in-Chief, which he read, as follows:

"R. J. MCINTOSH, the Governor-in-Chief, transmits, for the information of the House of Assembly, the accompanying copy of a circular despatch which he has received from her Majesty's Secretary of State, suggesting measures to be adopted for the encouragement of emigration to the West Indies from the United States.

"*Government House, Antigua*, Nov. 18, 1850."

[CIRCULAR.]
Downing Street, Oct. 16, 1851.

Sir—I have to acquaint you that it has been suggested to me that a desirable class of emigrants for the West Indian Colonies might be induced to come to them from among the black and coloured population of the United States, whose arrival and location, if they chose to come, would, I have no doubt, be advantageous both to themselves and the colonies.

I am not aware of anything which can be done by the Colonial governments to encourage such immigration, beyond showing a readiness to pass acts giving the privilege of naturalization to any such persons as might come and settle there, and providing that a bounty should be payable on such immigrants, under such arrangements as may be thought desirable.

I could also suggest, as deserving of consideration, whether laws might not be passed rendering binding, on certain conditions, engagements to pay sums of money which may have been agreed on by immigrants, although such engagements may have been contracted in America, and while the parties were in a state of Slavery. I have, &c., GREY.

Mr. Lawrence to Mr. Owens.

LONDON, November 8, 1851.

My Dear Sir—I have just received a reply to my note to Lord Palmerston, accompanied by Lord Grey's explanation of the despatch to which I called his attention. I am assured that he never intended to sanction or suggest entering into any arrangements with regard to slaves not first known to and approved by the masters; and that so far from supposing that any American would or could complain of the proposed arrangement, it was believed the slaveholders would receive it with satisfaction, and join in carrying it into effect.

It appears that Lord Grey has been aware for some time, that the West India Colonies are suffering for an adequate supply of labour. A gentleman from these colonies directed his attention to the fact, that there were in some of the slaveholding States a large number of free blacks whom the whites would be glad to have removed, and who would meet, to a certain extent, the wants of the Colonies. Knowing it to be the policy of the slave States to rid themselves of such a population, he thought a measure contemplating such a result would be favourably received by them.

He was further led to suppose, on the authority of certain American gentlemen communicated to him through the same channel, that many slaveholders would avail themselves of such an opportunity to emancipate their slaves, if they could be assured of their being removed from the country.

He was informed that the laws forbade emancipation, unless the liberated slaves were also removed, and that the expense of this prevented persons who would otherwise emancipate their slaves from doing so. But it was said a measure would be acceptable which would enable such persons to remove their slaves from the country, when liberated, without expense to themselves.

With this view he prepared a plan which should aim at the employment in the West India Colonies of free blacks from the United States; and should also offer to the planters the prospect, not only of a removal of their liberated slaves without expense, but a recovery of a portion of their value also. He recommended this plan to the Colonies, and wrote the circular in question in the belief that the want of labour would be supplied from these two sources, with the assent and co-operation of the slaveholders and the governments of the slaveholding States.

It is to be regretted that, with such an end in view, language should have been employed capable of a different construction; but this explanation appears to deprive it of its objectionable character.

With great consideration, I remain, dear sir, very faithfully yours, ABBOTT LAWRENCE.

THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA ON THE COMPROMISE.—Gov. Johnson, in his inaugural message, makes the following remarks with reference to the late Compromise adjustment:

The series of laws passed during the last Congress, denominated the "Compromise," were unequal and unjust to the South, and constituted just cause of complaint. But regarding them as a *full and final settlement* of that dangerous and vexed question (and in that light only), the Southern States very generally manifest a willingness to acquiesce; not because of their justice or equality, but for the sake of that Union, to maintain which, whilst under and controlled by the *written Constitution*, every patriot would "pledge his fortune, his life, and his sacred honour;" but which, without the Constitution, is worthless, and deserves not the veneration of any. If it be true that these provisions effect a settlement of this question, be it so; it is what we want. To let us and it alone is all we have contended for; and any effort to re-open the wound or renew discussion upon the subject should be frowned upon by every patriot.

Whilst, therefore, a proper regard for self-respect and the respect of the nation, as well as patriotism and policy, dictate that Virginia should inflexibly maintain the position she has heretofore taken upon this question, let us do so calmly and with as little agitation as possible. If the law for the rendition of fugitive slaves, which but provides the means for the exercise of a right secured to us by an express provision of the Federal Constitution, and the only one of the series calculated to be acceptable or beneficial to the South, should be made a dead letter upon the statute-book, either by open resistance or by evasive legislation or other devices which shall prevent its faithful execution in the non-slaveholding States, or should Congress repeal or materially modify its provisions, the last hope entertained by the South for that justice and protection guaranteed to her by the written compact under which she entered into the Union will be lost. Though the spirit in which this law has been received in the Northern States, is well calculated to excite our serious apprehensions, yet it is to be hoped that those who have it in their power to avert so great a calamity to us, to themselves and to the world, will see the abyss upon which we stand, and stay a policy, which, if persisted in, must precipitate us into irretrievable ruin.

THE *Pennsylvania Freeman*, the organ of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, published at Philadelphia, has been enlarged to the size of *The Boston Liberator* and much improved in typographical appearance. *The Freeman* is now edited by OLIVER JOHNSON, a gentleman long connected with the American Press, in which service he has earned the reputation of a terse, lucid and vigorous writer. To those who desire a straightout, unadulterated Anti-Slavery paper ('and nothing else,') one which deals as vigorous blows against Slavery in the United States as in the 'abstract,' or anywhere else—we commend *The Freeman*.—*Tribune.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

†‡† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 29, 1852.

THE EIGHTEENTH

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

ALL the influences of tradition, custom and circumstance alike contribute to make Boston what she is, a city eminently conservative. Looking at her from a standpoint different from that which we now occupy, and in reference to matters not germain to our present purpose, we gladly admit that it is to these influences she owes many of those qualities that constitute her chief grace and glory. This conservatism knows not, unfortunately, its true boundary, but aims at the preservation of much whose very existence strikes at the root of all genuine stability. Where a spirit like this prevails, nothing is more hated than *agitation*. Disliked as an instrument, even when its end is approved, how doubly odious does it become when that end would be hated and feared for itself alone! From these remarks, we may infer how great the disturbance and discomposure that prevailed among the great majority of the respectability of 'the pilgrim city,' on the rendition of the unfortunate slave Sims to his hopeless bondage. Some sense of right, some natural emotions of compassion, some faint recognition of the heroism displayed by a man so young and ignorant, all these were struggling with an innate love of cruelty and oppression, the sordid fear of the loss of Southern gain, the base hope of professional or political elevation. As might have been expected, the viler elements of human nature prevailed. Sims was returned to the horrors of Georgia prisons and plantations, and the great majority of the merchants, magistrates, editors, clergy and gentry of Boston were found willing to exclaim, 'His blood be on us and on our children.' In their original connection, these words are read by all Christendom with awe and horror; and, aided by moralist and historian, their dread fulfilment, even to the present hour, pointed out. Shall not this similar cry from hardened and passionate hearts be met by a like recompense? The unparalleled significance of the event with which those words stand associated have no necessary connection with the respective guilt of its actors. Many of the thoughtless and ignorant crowd who thronged the streets of Jerusalem, urged on to frenzy by the cry—'This is not Cæsar's friend'—'The Romans shall come and take away our place and nation'—were far less cognizant of the nature of the work in which they engaged, than were the fifteen hundred men of Boston, who pledged their services in aid of Sims' surrender. The record remains of the first—'They knew not what they did.' The second professed to know, as a self-evident truth, that Sims was free and equal with themselves, as a divine command, that whatever they would that he should do to them, they should do to him likewise.

It needs no power of vaticination, no spirit of prophecy, to declare that, in the very fulfilment of such a crime, its accompanying curse must be in part evolved. Of all those fifteen hundred households, no amount of courtly civility or graceful refinement, or elegant taste or literary culture, no untold quantity of prayers or fastings, or meeting-goings or masses, could hide or atone for the bloody and cowardly work that its head had offered to perpetrate. Every such man, sustaining the relation of father, gave to his child such a practical lesson in cowardly cruelty and sordid meanness as the miserable cant that trembled on his lips, when he next dared to name the high words of truth and duty, shall but most imperfectly neutralize. Men may talk coolly, 'in the abstract,' as they term it, of laws and constitutions, and the rendition of fugitives, and what they would do, and what they would not do, and all the while it may be vanity in debate, or love of argument or metaphysical subtlety, and they shall yet, when the living, trembling, suffering fellow-creature stands before them, throw their 'vain babblings' to the winds, and give him that help that heart and conscience demand. But if a man shall really show that as he has said he means, then do we declare that it is only human laws and social forms that make life or property safe in his hands; and he may thank any thing but himself if even these make them so in the hands of his children.

But a work like the rendition of Sims is not *easily* performed, even by base men. God is not left without a witness, even in *their* consciences. The Abolitionists had, of course, used every justifiable means for poor Sims' deliverance. Holding, as many of them do, ultra peace principles, they could not advocate or practice violence, even in that case where, in popular opinion, it finds its best justification—the defence of freedom. Still, the most intense agitation prevailed. The return of Sims took place on the 12th or 13th of April. A week or two after, Mr. Webster and his friends asked for Faneuil Hall, that he might address them therein—his first public appearance, we believe, in Massachusetts, after his Washington apostacy. The Municipal authorities, bewildered by the smoke and dust of the recent contest, deceived probably by the warmth and zeal of the Abolitionists in regard to their real number, flurried perhaps by the remembrance of the fatal help they had illegally lent to the kidnapper, were so stupid as to refuse the request. It suits neither our time nor taste, nor that of our readers, to enter into the relations that hereafter subsisted between Mr. Webster and the City Government of Boston. Suffice it, that the latter endeavoured to retrace their steps, and propitiate Mr. Webster, by insulting the Abolitionists, and trampling on *their* rights, whenever an opportunity occurred.

For the last eight or nine years, the Anti-Slavery women of Massachusetts had held their Annual Bazaar in Faneuil Hall. It had been obtained from year to year without difficulty. It is true, that last year the same city authorities of whom we have been speaking exhibited, in a striking, though petty manner, their hostility to the Anti-Slavery cause. We had heretofore, in compliance, as we supposed, with the spirit of Peter Faneuil's will, enjoyed gratuitously the use of the Hall; but now it was enacted that a certain sum each day should be paid for its use, 'when money is taken for admittance.' After the adoption of this rule, the Catholic ladies of Boston held a Fair there. The stipulated price was paid, accompanied by a petition, on their part, that a portion thereof be refunded. The Municipal authorities thought at first of returning the whole, but finally gave back half. At the close of our last year's Bazaar, we presented a similar request. It was declined, and the rent of the Hall, $833, paid into the city treasury. By this proceeding, we felt and still feel ourselves greatly aggrieved. The funds of the Catholic Bazaars are devoted to the support of an Orphan Asylum—a good and praiseworthy object, in the promotion of which we wish its friends all success. But this establishment is based upon and intended for the maintenance of sectarian opinions—opinions as diverse from those held by the great mass of our taxpayers as any that the Abolitionists hold. We are glad that the Catholics were treated with such liberality, even though it were done in the hope of securing Catholic votes. We point out the injustice in our own case, as done to a very small minority, because of its smallness.

However, we were glad of the Hall, even on unreasonable terms, and felt proportionate regret when we were shut out. Its time-honoured and beautiful associations made us feel that in no spot should the Anti-Slavery enterprise esteem itself more at home. It had witnessed all the fears and hopes and agonies with which men had struggled for their own freedom. This had been a noble sight. Was it not well that it should witness one still nobler—the hopes and fears and agonies with which men struggle for the freedom of others? The fact that Fourth of July orations and Union and slave-catching meetings are held there, does not desecrate those old arches, nor do the hallowed portraits that hang on the walls lose aught of their dignity by being so often invoked to sanction iniquity. Could some one of those departed patriots respond to the invocation, would it not be in the language of the great Irish poet:

'So venerably dear
Are Freedom's grave old accents to my ear
That I revere them, though by rascals sung.'

We trust that the Abolitionists, in common with such of their fellow citizens as uphold free discussion, will labour unweariedly till Faneuil Hall is again open to men of all parties and of no party. Till that time, the intention of Peter Faneuil's noble bequest is violated, and the city of Boston presents itself as engaged in the paltry work of thwarting and annoying, where she is powerless to prevent. Meanwhile, we will rejoice and be grateful for the good we have been enabled, while Faneuil Hall has been ours, to accomplish. The words of truth and soberness have there been poured forth, year after year, by Garrison, Phillips, Thompson, Foster, Pillsbury, and many others, with an effect, the results of which are even now appearing.

We trust that the friends for whom we write will not be wholly uninterested in learning *why* the Bazaar was not held in its accustomed place; and though we have been some time in reaching that point, they will perceive how the fugitive slave agitation connected itself, in some measure, with the question of the Bazaar's failure or success.

Assembly Hall, over the Depot of the Worcester railroad, was the only hall that *we could obtain*, whose size rendered it suitable for our purpose. It was, in lightness, size and beauty, unequalled, and the only objection arose from its situation. This is not central, but remote alike from the haunts of business and fashion. It was therefore with the most serious misgivings that the Bazaar Committee addressed themselves to the work of preparation. They knew, were it but by the exertions of friends in Great Britain and France that in point of beauty the Bazaar must prove successful—would it prove so as regarded its pecuniary result? We think the answer may be in the affirmative. The receipts were $3,010. This is somewhat less than the receipts of last year. But when we consider the change of place, and the unusual severity of the weather, the mercury standing every morning, with one or two exceptions, at zero, we think this deficiency is accounted for without so painful a supposition as the cooling of friends, or the increased bitterness of foes. Of one thing we are sure: the articles presented for sale were never more beautiful or abundant. Our friends in Great Britain, had with one or two exceptions, exceeded the generosity of previous years. Wherever a deficiency had occurred, it has been supplied with fresh and unlooked for labourers. Boxes of great variety and value were received from the following places in Great Britain: London, Bristol, Manchester, Leeds, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Perth, Dublin, and Cork. These included donations from Bath, Frenchay, Chatham, Bolton, and other towns in England, and from Dundee, Sterling, Crieff, Comrie, Milnathorb and Kinross in Scotland. All the articles were beautiful and useful, and, with a few exceptions, well suited to our market. Among so much that is elegant and tasteful, it is difficult to select the objects that were particularly admired and sought for without doing a seeming injustice to others. We will, however, particularize a few. The beautiful Shawl sent for exhibition to the Crystal Palace, and the Affghan Blankets from Edinburgh, the Shawls, elegant Aprons and embroidered Handkerchiefs from Glasgow were objects of general attention. The contributions of our friends in Perth were this year increased in amount and beauty. Their pretty crochetted and netted work, both in cotten and wool, met a very ready sale. Perhaps here were the fittest place to remark, that before the Bazaar was half over, every Tidy, crochetted in coloured cotton, was sold at a good price, and many more could have been disposed of. Perth, Manchester, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne abounded in those small and tasteful articles, which, though impossible to describe in an account like this, constitute the very staple and support of a fancy sale. The magnificent and costly Screen from Leeds was, of course, the object of universal attention. Placed on a table in the centre of the hall, it attracted all eyes, and offered to the most indifferent and careless spectator the subject for an hour's interest.

Of the taste and beauty of the collection from Bristol we cannot speak too highly. The Honiton Lace was, as usual, greatly admired, and extensively purchased. Of the exquisite Basket Work, though marked at high prices, scarcely an article remained unsold. Its intrinsic beauty commands for it a ready sale, apart from the touching fact that it is the donation of the pupils of the Blind Asylum, the materials purchased by their own pocket-money, and wrought in hours unappropriated to their regular pursuits. Deprived of the light of day, they have yet 'that light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world,' and in its radiance can behold the American slave, not as revealed to the 'wise and prudent' of his own country, 'chattel personal,' but as a man and a brother.

We are grateful to acknowledge very costly and elegant donations from a new circle of friends in London. On this table the very beautiful Embroidery, Travelling-Bags, Cushions, and Sketches in Durable Ink, were very greatly admired. The latter, embracing scenes from Shakspeare, and Italian views, were particularly saleable. We must congratulate our Dublin friends and ourselves on the exact coincidence of their own with the popular taste of Boston. All their pretty Bog Oak Ornaments were hailed as 'the very thing,' and purchased at once. Indeed, their whole collection, apart from De La Rue's beautiful paper, which always finds purchasers in abundance, was highly desirable, and suited to the occasion. The Papier Maché, both from Dublin and Manchester, was extremely handsome. Owing to some delay of letters, the Cork-box was not received till late in the Bazaar, and examined as the articles were, hastily, we can only speak of them in general terms, as alike valuable and useful. We remember very exquisite specimens, both of knitting and crochet, that sold directly.

On no previous year has the Book Table presented a larger or more beautiful variety. To a member of our Committee resident last summer in Switzerland, we were indebted for the very pretty carved wood-work, baskets, cups, toys, and other articles. Very elegant objects in China, Bronze and Buhl, exquisite Drawings, Paintings on Ivory, Autographs, and valuable Foreign Publications, making up part of the collection sent by those of our Committee now in Paris, enriched this table. We are not the less grateful to the Rev. Philip R. Carpenter for the gift of several packages of books and periodicals, and particularly for a valuable black letter Bible and Psalter, because they arrived too late for this year's sale. They are equally acceptable for the Bazaar of next year.

The amount of our domestic contributions is about the same as that of last year. The contributors are, from year to year, with few changes, the same individuals. We have received, for the first time, from a few places, very acceptable help. We wish, in particular, to refer to a very useful and tasteful donation from the Ladies' Sewing Circle in Rochester, N. Y. Most of the articles were extremely well suited to the demand, and we wish all its friends would bear it in mind as effectively as have its Rochester donors. The articles sent from abroad are so beautiful, in many instances so costly, that, to some extent, an unfavourable impression prevails that it is hardly worth while for the American ladies to give much time to the manufacture of articles in which they will very probably find themselves excelled. But this is quite a mistaken view. Local fashions prevail every where. The demand that these occasion no foreign work can supply. Our friends in Rochester, and in Portsmouth, N. H, have understood this, and their contributions have been precisely of the kind needed. Even in Assembly Hall, larger than Faneuil Hall, we were able to accommodate a few towns only with a separate table, but we believe we are able to present an accurate list of all places from which help was received. This includes Plymouth, Duxbury, Leominster, Upton, Westminster, Raynham, Salem, Lynn, Dedham, West Roxbury, Cambridge, Weymouth, Blackstone, Hingham, Danvers and Foxboro,' Mass.; Rochester and Staten Island, N. Y.; Portland, Me.: Portsmouth, Duxbury, Weare and Amherst, N. H. We also acknowledge with much pleasure a package of articles from Pictou, Nova Scotia. One or two packages were received without any accompanying letter or intimation from whom they came. To various friends in Boston, who, for the first time, aided us by their contributions, we are greatly indebted. We would in a special manner return our thanks to Messrs. Ober and Morey, for their valuable table of Glass and Britannia Ware, furnished at their own expense. We would acknowledge the kindness of Mr. Benjamin Hayne, Charlestown, Mr. P. F. Slane, South Boston, and of Messrs. Kane & Johnson, of the Phœnix Glass Works, for their gifts to the same table. We cannot but refer to the kindness of the many friends in Boston who so liberally supplied the Refreshment Room and Table, though aware they wish no such allusion.

To those friends who decorated the Hall so tastefully we are very grateful; also to Messrs. Collamore for their usual loan, and to Messrs. Edmund Jackson, Redding, J. B. Smith and others, for various gifts or acts of kindness by which our labours were greatly facilitated.

To each and all who have lent a helping hand, whether by money, or labour, or sympathy, to the Bazaar of 1852, the Managers would proffer the assurance of their grateful appreciation. Few circumstances are, in our eye, more touching or more prophetic of our final success, than the fact that one great and simple principle can so unite in harmonious action individuals widely separated, by oceans and continents, language and race, creed and condition.

The *Liberty Bell*, published as usual on the first morning of the Bazaar, will be found equal in merit to its predecessors. Apart from its pecuniary value to the cause, we regard this little volume as an important instrumentality, giving alike circulation and permanency to the appeals and testimonies of distinguished philanthropists of all countries, which might not otherwise have been obtained in form suitable to command the attention of the popular heart. We fear that all Abolitionists do not appreciate the importance of an active propagandism *now* as in the earlier days of the cause. Slavery, and its sequences are, of course, understood as matters of fact, by the community, better than they were twenty years ago; the state of comparatively innocent ignorance, first aroused by Garrison's voice, can never again exist; but cold, abstract knowledge, and the intense, vital conviction of personal duty, are widely different things. It is the mission of the Abolitionists to excite the latter in all with whom circumstances may bring them related. The *Liberty Bell* may often serve as an entering wedge where no other publications could find access.

During the latter evenings of the Bazaar we were favoured with addresses by Messrs. Quincy, Foster, Garrison, Bowditch and Phillips. For the very eloquent and impressive speech of the last-named gentlemen on the subject of Kossuth's visit to this country, we refer our readers to the *Liberator* of the 2d, and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* of the 15th of January. It is with much pain that we feel obliged to express our regret at the course this illustrious man has felt himself at liberty to pursue with respect to the great question of American Slavery. Were it not too sad a theme for amusement, it might almost be found in the naive inquiry with which his apologists, many of them sincerely interested in the progress of Anti-Slavery principles, seek to shield him from censure—'Had he condemned Slavery, would he have obtained either money or countenance from the government or the immense majority of the people of the United States? Very probably not; but is that money or countenance nobly obtained when an express disavowal of the slave is its price—when the great question of *personal ownership*, which underlies all political privilige, all religious freedom, all legal security, is shuffled off as a party question, to be classed with tariffs, and banks, and rights of suffrage, or even with the graver problem of monarchy or republic. Far, far beyond and outside all these lies the question that now convulses the American mind, and presents, and will continue to present itself to the consideration of European liberalism with a potency and solemnity not to be resisted. The Abolitionists do not misconstrue M. Kossuth's position. It is one easily understood. They do not suppose that in his secret soul he does otherwise than deplore and condemn American Slavery. But he has come to the conclusion that, for the sake of freedom in Hungary, he may sacrifice truth in America. The case lies plainly before him. Is this country, with one half its soil no freer to Garrison than is Austria to Kossuth, this government, whose dearest business seems the hunting of fugitive slaves, and attempts to hang innocent men refusing to assist in such unparalleled iniquity, the proper subjects for the unmeasured eulogies of a really noble and heroic soul? Should not Kossuth draw back in disgust unutterable from such men as George Wood and Judge Kane, men whose hands honest men should scorn to touch in token of friendship, and whose names shall go down to posterity as infamous, but merely by the cold delineation of History, but by that popular tradition and sympathy that fail not, in the long run, to do full justice to such deeds of cruel atrocity as the surrender of Henry Long and Hannah Dellam? He owes this to himself, and to Hungary no less. She could have said to him, as Thecklar to Max—

'Being faithful
To thine own self, thou'rt faithful too to me;'

and faithfulness alike to both, required a far different course from that he has seen fit to pursue. The next war in Europe may be a war of *ideas*; but if it is to be a *successful* one, it must be a war of *principles* as well, and those fixed and unchangable. For the liberals of Europe to attack tyrants on their own continent and strike hands with them on ours, to abolish serfdom and feudalism *there*, and refuse to consider Slavery *here*, to eulogize America and her institutions, without qualification or cavil, with no escape from one of two conclusions, that they either do truly sympathize with a slaveholding people, or pretend to do this in consideration of time and money—what is all this but to undermine the very foundation on which their own enterprise rests, the belief in human rights as inalienable and eternal? It is to lose the one pole star by which their course can be directed; it is to cast away the one availing talisman of strength and success. If the political reformers of Europe fail to secure the confidence of mankind in respect to their own sincerity of conviction, then indeed will their cause be hopeless. Whatever of generous self-sacrifice and enthusiastic heroism yet exists in mankind, the world over, is the source from which ultimately their help must come; but if this be chilled by doubt and suspicion, the world's progress is impeded till better men shall arise.

We again repeat our regret that duty to truth and the slave compel us to speak in any other than terms of unqualified admiration and respect of one who has so laboured and suffered in and for his own country as has M. Kossuth. The greater his firmness, persistency and self-sacrifice in behalf of Hungary, the more do we sorrow that so precious an offering should have been made at the shrine of American Slavery. If any Abolitionist feels that he could seek help for the prosecution of his mission from the Francis Josephs and their Haynaus and Radetzskys, on condition of ignoring Hungary, if any Anti-Slavery lady feels that she could salute the hand of Sophia of Hapsburgh, red with the blood of the massacre of Arad, if so be it conveyed donations for the suffering slave women of her own country, it is not for such to censure Kossuth, but if we feel that the oppression at our own door, though claiming our first sympathies and warmest efforts, can exclude from our view no spot on earth where oppression conquers, be it Hungarian battle-field, Austrian scaffold, Neapolitan dungeon, or French ballot-box, then do we claim that no toil and sacrifice for national rights shall exempt any man, when circumstances call, from bearing that great testimony for freedom universally, which he owes, not to one nation or race merely, but to mankind.

To those friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause who watch its progress from day to day, who make its success their first public interest, and place its service among their dearest personal duties, it would be superfluous and impertinent in us to proffer any word, whether of encouragement or exhortation. Its present position, its hopes and its encouragements, are known better by them than by us. But a portion of the slave's friends in this country, and a large number in Great Britain are, in the very nature of the case, in a situation entirely different. Duty, accident, a thousand circumstances, make the slave question a very incidental part of their daily life, but not the less, one of warm interest and affectionate regard. To this class we are greatly indebted, and it is to them, isolated by taste, habit or position from the din of the conflict, that we submit opinions and explanations, to the daily observer trite and uncalled for.

In reference to the general question of abolition, we can but feel encouraged. That it will ever take place in the way indicated by the American Anti-Slavery Society, we greatly doubt. The doctrine on which its efforts are based is the sinfulness of Slavery in all cases; consequently the duty of immediate emancipation; consequently the duty of instant withdrawance from any course of conduct that shall necessarily and inevitably support and maintain the system. This doctrine is promulgated by appeals, incessant and earnest as our means permit, to the hearts and consciences of *the people*, as individuals. We call on each man and woman, as such, to perform the work of personal repentance and reformation in regard to a system of oppression which so permeates every institution of the country, that neutrality is impossible. This is our only mode of action. As Abolitionists, we have nothing to do with forms of faith or schools of politics. Recognising that abolition, though an essential truth, is yet only one, we deem it too narrow a basis on which to form either church or party; but proclaim it in the ears of all churches and all parties, that on its reception depends their existence as vital realities. Here may appropriately rise the question of the *harsh language* for which we are so heavily censured. We plead two circumstances in mitigation. We have but one weapon—*the absolute Truth*. Shall we not wield it effectively, without fear or favour? As Abolitionists, we have put away violence from ourselves and from the slaves. We deprecate insurrections, even amid scenes so brutal and loathsome that the imagination turns sickening from the contemplation. When the more generous impulses of human nature awake in the populace, and the Fugitive Slave Law has been trampled under foot, and the victim rescued, would the result have been the same had not the community been saturated by the moral suasion views of the Abolitionists? The American people are, in respect to the coloured race, sinners indeed; but a law so unutterably brutal as the Fugitive Slave Law, could never have been carried out to the limited extent it has been in our Northern cities and villages, had not the tone of the Anti-Slavery publications and lecturers been that of endurance and forbearance. And having done this, shall considerations of worldly courtesy or conventional good-breeding prevent us from branding slaveholding and slave-returning, and defence of slaveholding and slave-returning, no matter by whom done or said, or under whatever circumstances, as deeds unutterably vile, drawing down on the perpetrators the condemnation of God and the scorn of man? Dr. Johnson once said to a young man, 'Do not leave all, unless you intend to follow Him.' To such as *profess* a sympathy for the slave, we say, when you lay down the weapons of carnal welfare, see to it that you assume those of a spiritual and therefore of a more effective nature, and that you visit the slaveholder and his abettors with the deepest condemnation of which your nature is capable, or otherwise your language is cant and cowardice. This is our first explanation: and our second is, that it is really impossible to apply language too harsh to such a system. We readily admit that indiscriminate abuse of anything is unwise and inexpedient. Doubtless, some Abolitionists may have erred in this matter. To use language with exact precision pertains to a clear mind and careful education; and many persons, with warm hearts and sensitive consciences, may be, in these two things, deficient. To errors of taste, the Abolitionists may often plead guilty. To errors of temper occasionally; for, exposed as we are to a bitterness of opposition unknown in any other question, labouring against such immense odds, it were indeed a miracle were the truth always preached in its appropriate spirit. It is, after all, not with our taste or our temper that the world is actually at issue. The real question is, shall Slavery become so infamous, shall this scorpion be so walled round by the fire of public opinion, that it shall cease to exist? And this recalls our statement that while we are hopeful of abolition, we are doubtful whether it shall occur in the way for which the Abolitionists have prayed and laboured. It might have been so, had the professed moral sense of the country, as embodied in its churches and ecclesiastical organizations joined *with* instead of *against* them. As it is, not one of those prayers or labours shall have been in vain, or be other than an important instrument in forwarding an event that agencies more turbulent and material shall yet be called in to accomplish. It is not in the world's present age, a time full of discoveries, and inventions and theories, distinguished by the most intense physical and mental activity, the most active competition between States and nations, and also by events of the most unexpected and startling character, that such an institution as American Slavery can long survive. It is within the last century that thrones and hierarchies stronger by a much older immunity in crime than has been given to this, have fallen as in a moment. As the hour of a doomed institution draws on, an observation of all the accelerating forces is beyond the reach of human vision. But not less speedily or surely for this is each one of them accomplishing its work. But does any one ask, 'Is your hope founded on *faith* alone? Is nothing vouchsafed to sight?' With the Fugitive Slave Law carried out in Boston, the Abolitionists unable to obtain the humblest building in the city of New York in which to hold their annual meeting, and men tried for treason on charges palpably ridiculous, even in the eyes of a pro-slavery community, we can give only a negative answer. As we know that deliverance was never nearer to the children of Israel than when Pharaoh pursued after them as they entered the Red Sea, so we may infer for the oppressed of our own day, a deliverance more analogous to that of old, than the peaceful and quiet issue to which the labours of the Abolitionists would have tended. We do not call this expectation fanaticism.

'For whom
Hath he who shakes the mighty with a breath
From their high places, made the fearfulness
And ever-wakeful presence of his power,
To the pale startled earth, most manifest,
But for the weak? Was't for the helmed and crowned
That suns were stayed at noon-day? Stormy seas
As a rill parted? Mailed archangels sent
To wither up the strength of kings with death?
I tell you, if these marvels have been done,
'Twas for the wearied and the oppressed of men;
They needed such!—and generous faith has power
By her prevailing spirit, e'en yet to work
Deliverances, whose tale shall live with those
Of the great elder time.'

To look back on past ages, to observe how events unthought of and unlooked for have co-operated with the labours of their martyrs and reformers, to notice, after all, how limited a power for evil is, in the nature of things, given to the tyrants of the earth, to see with Lamartine that there is 'dans les crises humaines, quelque chose de plus fort que les hommes qui paraissent les diriger: la volonté de l'événement lui meme'—all this affords legitimate ground for hope and encouragement, if by such view our own earnest and active labours are thereby promoted; for to say philosophically, that causes are in operation that must, without our help, bring Slavery to an end, or piously to remark that God does not need us to carry forward his purposes, shows very plainly that we are neither philosophers nor Christians. A generous self-sacrifice, a spirit of heroic endeavour on our own part, is the best proof and pledge of its existence in other hearts; and when we shall be willing to give up ease, and time, and wordly reputation, and social respectability in the slave's behalf, the [illegible] that the hour of [illegible]

We regret to [illegible] exists in the minds of [illegible] touching the sphere and [illegible] Anti-Slavery Society, with [illegible] movement is identified. What [illegible] of this misapprehension may exist [illegible] calumnies with which pro-slavery religionists, gentlemen, in particular, coming from America, have attempted to shield themselves from [illegible] yet feel anxious to explain a position, the very [illegible] licity of which may cause a misunderstanding in the minds of some now acquiring their first knowledge of the Society's history. As we have said elsewhere, the cognition of the sinfulness of slavery and the duty of its immediate abolition, is the basis on which its operations rest, the tie which unites in harmonious fellowship a great multitude of men and women, differing, perhaps, in various degrees, on every other subject. No religious or political test is allowed. On its platform, men and women, blacks and whites, natives and foreigners, Christians and infidels, have the same rights, and are by their presence there committed to nothing but a warfare on Slavery. We believe that, from its very outset, with a few exceptions, the American Anti-Slavery Society has acted in scrupulous good faith in regard to a subject which offers some practical difficulties. At its earliest commencement, Garrison and his fellow-workers saw the wisdom of a popular instead of an elective association, in a country like ours, governed by the popular will, and they appealed to all. A few came, of all creeds and all parties. As time rolled on, the fervid and earnest presentation of the truth affected a larger circle. It appealed to many clergymen of the sects in popular parlance called evangelical, and they enlisted in the work with much apparent warmth and sincerity, and for a time did good service, fruits of which yet remain, by sermons, publications, and personal influence. Many of their parishioners joined the Anti-Slavery Society, and contributed largely to its funds. At the meetings that took place during this period, when the great majority of the Society held opinions in religion denominated orthodox, that any spirit of sectarism was invidiously or intentionally manifested, we do not believe. Yet it would have been impossible for a stranger to have attended the Society's meetings, and watched the general course of its operations, without being made aware of the religious opinion that preponderated. Evangelical clergymen opened and closed the meetings with prayers, in which, of course, their theological opinions fully appeared; those of the Society's lecturers who were clergymen preached on Sundays as they could obtain opportunity, while travelling the country at the Society's expense, and on their Anti-Slavery mission. Concerts of prayer were appointed, and once or twice, in seasons of special discouragement, Fasts. At the close of the New England Convention of 1836, a Trinitarian Doxology of Dr. Watts' was given out, and sung by the assembly. In Pennsylvania, where a Quaker influence prevailed, outside forms and phraseologies varied. The minority in the New England States, composed of the liberal denominations, so-called, 'cared for none of these things,' but were thankful in any way to see the cause carried forward. It went on, vanquishing obstacle after obstacle, till finally, seen and known of all men, appeared the American Church as the 'Bulwark of American Slavery.' It was not on the testimony of heterodox Abolitionists mainly that this was proved to be the case. It was on the showing of Amos Phelps, and William Goodell, and Beriah Greene, and Judge Jay, and James T. Woodbury, and many others, that the truth was made apparent. The salt had lost its savour, the light had become darkness. The Abolitionists, who were true to their own convictions withdrew from churches which they justly deemed apostate; those who preferred the claims of their sect before justice and humanity, went no more with us. Clerical appeals, new organizations, divisions on false pretensions and false issues followed. Of course, the liberal sects were comparatively unaffected by circumstances that convulsed the other denominations. There are not half a dozen Unitarian churches south of Mason and Dixon's line; and, what is still more consequential to the present explanation, the liberal churches claim no excommunicatory power at all. A participation in the Lord's supper with slaveholders or their apologists, was not with them an endorsement of their Christian character. To the Puritan churches of New England it involved all this. A minority drew back in horror from such a communion; the great majority, whatever had been their previous sayings or doings, began to inquire how much sin a man might commit and yet be a Christian, how slaves might be innocently held for their own good, and various other problems, and finally settled down in their present pro-slavery condition, presenting a picture of hypocritical pretence and real iniquity, that finds its just parallel in the delineations of the Hebrew prophets.

Behold, in as concise a statement as is possible, the reasons why the American Anti-Slavery Society stands charged as so heterodox a body by slaveholding religionists. In a country where slaveholding and slave-hunting is entirely consistent with the highest Christian profession, a Society stamping both as criminal can hardly enjoy much religious repute. Those to whom Christian reputation is dear find it hard to sacrifice the shadow to the substance. We willingly concede that the members of evangelical pro-slavery churches have a painful and trying duty to discharge; but this makes it none the less a duty. Every chapter of the New Testament renders it obligatory upon them. That so many prefer sect and party to the cause of humanity is

In view of the cloud of misrepresentations and slanders which the pro-Slavery churches of this country and their new organization tools persist in spreading, we would say to such dear friends of the cause in Great Britain as have preferred the claims of truth and humanity to those of party and sect, we truly appreciate your labours, and are thankful for your fidelity through evil as through good report. We entreat your perseverance, alike for your own sakes and for the slave's. You owe it to those very doctrines that you profess to hold dear, to go forward in the holy work that you have undertaken. Can you, in any way, so recommend them to the confidence of unbelievers? If the pro-Slavery churches of the United States are indeed the opprobrium of Protestant Christendom, do you not owe it to the name whereby you are called to show to the world that their position is in defiance of, and not in consonance with, the creed they profess. Leave it to them to speak in one breath of the value of the human soul, and the great price paid for its redemption, and in the next to declare that the prosperity of the country and the continuance of the Union, and *the peace of the Church*, demand that three millions of men be enslaved. Be it yours to show to the world, that from those very doctrines on which their conduct brings reproach, you draw your support and inspiration; and do not for a moment believe that God requires you to support his truth by putting light for darkness or darkness for light.

In closing this paper, necessarily brief and inadequate, we feel that our whole duty were not discharged, did we not renewedly commend the American Anti-Slavery Society to the donations and sympathies of all who are seeking to find the only real and efficient Anti-Slavery instrumentality that the country affords. Free Soil parties, Vigilance Committees, Associations for the Improvement of the Coloured Race, Free Produce Associations, Schools for Coloured Children—all and each of these do a partial, and some of them a praiseworthy work, in aid of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. But they are only collateral, and dependant for their vital breath on the life created by this organization. The leading members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society have consecrated their lives to this work. What fame, and power, and wealth, and worldly distinction are to others, is its success. The sacrifices which they have not hesitated to make in their own behalf, enable them to speak with authority to others. Hence a success so disproportioned to their numbers, or wealth or position. The entire and unqualified truth which they utter finds but a partial acceptance in the timid and faithless community that surrounds them, but it falls not fruitless to the ground. It so far arouses the conscience, that the secondary works to which we have alluded are done; but, were our labours to cease, on what would these rely? It is in no arrogant or invidious spirit that we make this declaration. We do but declare the fact, that it is by means of this Society alone, that there exists in the country that healthful agitation which forms the only peaceful solution of this vexed question. Do not, then, spend your strength on Canada Missions or Vigilance Committees. Leave the care of these to pro-Slavery churches and Webster Whigs. You may safely do it. The ideas of expiation and atonement are planted deep in the human heart. To refer once more to a favourite volume, the great novelist of our age draws a true picture in the Laird of Dumbiedikes' death-bed, when, having just ordered the eviction of his starving tenantry, he calls out to his son, 'Be kind to the puir creatures, the Deanses and the Butlers. Let the creatures hae bite and soup; it will maybe be the better wi' your father where he's gaun.'

You may depend very reasonably on the expectation that many men who voted for or connived at the Fugitive Slave Law shall seek to soothe their secret remorse by contributing to the relief of their victims. Proof of this may also be seen in the eagerness with which the vilest pro-slavery newspapers of New York exert themselves to obtain subscriptions for the purchase of slaves from their masters. Vain efforts to wash the blood from their hands! Let no Abolitionists be duped in this manner. It is their mission *to arouse a nation*, dead in trespasses and sins, on a given subject, to change its whole heart and mode of action. By the promulgation of one great but simple idea is this to be accomplished. For this our resources are all too insufficient. Let none be wasted on these details which will take care of themselves, if the great end that includes them be but faithfully pursued.

Let us close with the language of hope and encouragement:

'The game of life
Looks cheerful, when one carries in one's heart
The unalienable treasure.'

These lines, illustrative of a merely private and personal experience, may be suggestive of a wider signification.

The 'game of life,' as played on its widest field, by kingdoms and nations, 'looks cheerful,' if we carry in our hearts the treasure of a perfect conviction that *our* sympathies and labours are with the right, and that, in the all-embracing Providence of God, every event is working together for the fulfilment of His will and the coming of His kingdom.

ANNE WARREN WESTON.

Boston, January 17, 1852.

Money received by A. W. Weston for the Bazaar of 1852.

Salem Female A. S. Society,	$50 00
Lynn Female A. S. Society,	20 00
Richard Clap, Dorchester,	5 00
Miss Nancy Babcock, Berlin,	10 00
From friends in Newburyport, collected by Misses Plumer and Spofford,	7 00
Mrs. Ford, Leeds,	£1 0 0
Mrs. Pease, "	10 0
Mrs. Williams,	10 0

Donations received in Bristol, England, and there expended in behalf of the Bristol Box.

	£	s.	d.
The Misses Bright,	2	7	6
Miss More,		5	0
Mrs. Dighton,	1	0	0
Mrs. H. Dighton,	1	0	0
Mrs. C. Darwin,		10	0
Mrs. Ellis,	1	0	0
Mrs. Bagehot,	2	0	0
Mrs. Rowland,	1	0	0
Mrs. Carpenter,	1	0	0
Miss Cobb,	1	0	0
Mrs. Lawford,	1	0	0
Mrs. Tothill,	1	0	0
Mrs. Schimmelpennick,	1	0	0
Miss Good,		5	0
Smaller sums, from friends,		8	0

Donations received in Edinburgh, on behalf of the Edinburgh Box.

	£	s.	d.
C. Scott, Circus Place,	1	5	0
Priscilla McLaren,		10	0
Isabella Scott,	1	0	0
Mary Howison,		10	0
Mrs. Richardson, Bolton, England,		5	0

Donations to A. W. Weston for publication of the Liberty Bell.

Miss Mary G. Chapman,	$5 00
Daniel Ricketson,	5 00
'Pilgrim,'	5 00
Charles Francis Adams,	10 00
Miss Catharine Sargent,	5 00
Miss Henrietta Sargent,	5 00
Charles F. Hovey,	20 00
Mrs. David Joy,	10 00
Miss E. A. Cotton,	5 00
Mrs. Charles F. Winslow,	5 00
Misses Osgood,	5 00
Mrs. Wendell Phillips,	10 00
Misses Andrews,	5 00
Mrs. F. M. Robbins,	5 00
Mrs. Clarissa G. Olds,	5 00
A. W. Wharton,	5 00
Francis Jackson,	10 00
Mrs. James Eddy,	5 00
Joseph Congdon,	5 00
Mrs. Ellis Gray Loring,	10 00
William C. Coffin,	5 00
William C. Taber,	5 00
Mrs. George R. Russell,	10 00
Mrs. John Parkman,	5 00
Nathaniel Barney,	10 00

Merchandize received for the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

1 box from Glasgow, by Andrew Paton.
1 box from Perth, by Mrs. David Morton.
1 box from Edinburgh, by Jane Wigham.
1 box from London, by Mrs. Reid.
1 box from Bristol, by Mrs. Herbert Thomas.
2 boxes from Leeds, by Joseph Lupton.
1 box from Manchester, by Miss Whitlegge.
2 boxes from Dublin, by R. D. Webb.
1 box from Newcastle-on-Tyne, by Rev. Geo. Harris.
1 box from Cork, by Miss Jennings.
1 box from Switzerland, by Mrs. P. G. Shaw.
1 box from Paris, by Mrs. Chapman.

Parcels received in the Bazaar Boxes, and forwarded.

From Edinburgh, parcel and letter to W. L. Garrison.
Letters to F. Douglass and J. B Syme.
From Glasgow, parcels for W. L. Garrison, and H. C. Wright.
From Manchester, package for F. Douglass.
From Bristol, parcel for Rev. C Waterston and W. R. Ware.

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND KOSSUTH.

We have received from Dublin an official copy of the following Resolutions, passed by the Anti-Slavery Society of that city. The censure therein conveyed of the course pursued by the American and Foreign A. S. Society in relation to Kossuth, will, we venture to say, be felt to be just by Abolitionists everywhere, who are free to express an unbiassed opinion, and who recognise the cause of the American Slave to be, in America, paramount to all others. The friends of Mr. Tappan's Society, and that class of Anti-Slavery people who are quite willing to be that only when they are not tempted to be something else, will alone disagree with us. Accordingly we are no more surprised that the (London) *Anti-Slavery Reporter*—the organ of the British and Foreign A. S. Society—should notice the address presented by Mr. Tappan to Kossuth, without a word of admonition for prompting him to be silent on the Slave question, than we are that the *Tribune*, the *Evening Post*, the *National Era*, or any other paper of that grade of Anti-Slavery, should be quite reconciled to any injury that Kossuth's visit may do to the cause of Freedom here, for the sake of the good they hope may arise from it for the cause of Freedom in Hungary. For our part, we believe that that cause is as precious in one place as another, and that an American should no more sacrifice it here for the sake of Hungary, than a Hungarian at home should sacrifice it for the sake of America. We hope to live and die in that faith, at any rate.

The Dublin Resolutions are as follows:

At a Meeting of the DUBLIN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, held in Eustace street, Dublin, the 7th of First Month (January), 1852, the following resolutions were offered, discussed, and unanimously adopted:

1. That this Meeting has read with grave disapprobation the report of an interview between a deputation of the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* and *Louis Kossuth*, late Governor of Hungary, on his arrival in New York, in which, after presenting an official address of welcome and sympathy, the deputation intimated that "no reply was desired," on the ground that, as the nation's guest, he should be absolved from any expression of sympathy which might compromise his cause by implicating him with any of the parties in the United States.

2. That this meeting considers that in thus voluntarily releasing Louis Kossuth from the duty incumbent upon him, as upon every one, to express sympathy with the down-trodden millions of republican America, the deputation have, according to the extent of their influence, inflicted a serious injury on the Anti-Slavery cause, by establishing a dangerous precedent for every other visitor to the United States who may plead absorbing claims or peculiar interests as a release from personal effort for the slave, or the expression of sympathy for his wrongs.

RICHARD D. WEBB, Secretary.

George Addey, Richard Allen
Joseph Allen, Hewetson Edmondson,
William Fisher, Joseph Fisher,
William Webb, Members of Committee.

THE SLAVE-TRADE AT THE CAPITOL.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Ashtabula Sentinel*, writing from Washington, thus relates an incident which occurred there just before the arrival of Kossuth. It is by no means an unusual occurrence, though they are not often made public, and no doubt there was more than one such deed in process of transaction while the populace of Washington were shouting at the heels of the Hungarian, for liberty to his countrymen:

Yesterday a servant man came to my room, saying a coloured woman wished to speak with me. I told him to show her up. He soon returned with her. She was sobbing, and evidently in great agony of mind. I asked the cause of her grief. It was some time before she could so far compose her mind as to relate to me her misfortune; which consisted in living under the barbarous laws enacted by Congress for the government of this district. She said her husband had just been sold to a slave-dealer, and taken to the baracoons of Alexandria—that his purchaser was intending to take him to Alabama in two or three days. That she had four children at home. At this point she burst out into a loud expression of her grief. Her sobbings were interrupted occasionally with exclamations of "Oh God! Oh my dear children! Oh my husband!" then appealing to me, 'Oh, master, for God's sake, do try to get back the father of my babes!"

I learned that her husband's name is George Tooman. His former owner is a female named Martha Johnwood, living east of the capitol some half a mile. George went to work this morning in the barn, at husking corn, without any suspicion of the fate which awaited him. The slave-dealer and an assistant came to the barn, seized him, placed hand-cuffs upon him, and hurried him off to the slave pen of Alexandria.

The woman hearing of it, followed him here on foot, and returned, and then sought me in the vain hope that I should be able to assist her. The day is said by many to be the coldest known here for years, yet she has been exposed to the keen piercing winds, although I think she was thinly clad. She had not seen her children since morning, when she left them without firewood. I endeavoured to soothe her feelings by expressing some faint hope that her husband might yet be redeemed—that I would make inquiry and ascertain if I could find some one who would re-purchase him and permit him to remain in the district. It was dark when she left my room to return to her home, rendered bitter by the fate of the husband and father. The cold winds rocked the building and howled mournfully about the corners. I reflected upon the barbarous law by which Congress has authorized and encouraged such crimes and inflicted such misery upon the down-trodden of God's poor. "I trembled for my country when I reflected that God was just, and that his justice will not sleep forever." I asked myself the question, will Heaven permit such wickedness, such barbarous cruelty to go unpunished? Yet, Mr. Fillmore, in his Message, advises Congress to abide by the Compromise as a final settlement of the slave question, and leave the coloured women who are wives and mothers in this District to the operations of this savage law—would leave fathers here to be sold in the manner above related—leave children here to be robbed of their parents. And the Whig caucus resolve substantially that they will lend their aid to sustain this law which would disgrace the tyrant of Austria, and would add a deeper infamy to Haynau, the butcher of the Hungarians.

My feelings are too much excited on this subject to write cooly. I only wish the men of Ashtabula county, who, since 1848, have unintentionally sustained by their votes and influence, this Slave Trade, could have witnessed the tears, the horror of mind, the deep anguish of that woman's heart, that they could have heard her wailings, her ejaculatory prayers for her children. Methinks they would not adhere to party dictation with so much devotion.

☞ THE SYRACUSE RESCUE TRIALS have been in the course of commencement at Albany for a week past and the time thus far has been consumed by the counsel for the defence on a motion to quash the indictments ning at least, for the prisoners, and does not look as if for irregularities on their face. This is a good beginanybody were likely to suffer imprisonment and fine, for some time to come, on Jerry's account.

HUNTING FOR FREEMEN.

The State of Ohio seems to think that there are two sides to the Compromises, and though she may consent that her soil shall be open ground for slave-hunters, is not willing that her coloured citizens, who are free under the Constitution, shall be taken to supply the market for human flesh in the Southern States. The Governor, in his Message to the Legislature thus reports of a hunt for freemen which, in obedience to a Resolution of the last session, he has been prosecuting for the past year:

At the last session, the General Assembly passed a resolution instructing the Executive to enquire into the circumstances of the abduction of the family of Peyton Polly, and, if satisfied of their freedom, to take such measures as he deemed expedient for their release, and to pay the expenses from his contingent fund.

This was a coloured family, consisting of eight persons. On investigation it was satisfactorily ascertained that a high-handed outrage had been committed on the soil, and against the dignity and sovereignty of the State of Ohio, on the night of the 6th of June, 1850, in the county of Lawrence, and that the entire family, residing remotely from assistance, was basely kidnapped, carried into the State of Kentucky and Virginia and sold into Slavery, where they were not slaves, but in fact free persons. This family consisted mostly of children.

Immediately after the passage of the resolution, information was received that four of this family were sold in the mountains of Virginia, in the county of Wayne, and that four others were on their way down the river to the lower country, in the hands of purchasers, and for sale. Without loss of time, counsel was despatched to Louisville, to intercept those in that direction, employ assistance, if necessary, and to institute legal proceedings to establish their freedom and to secure their return.

They were speedily overtaken and placed in the custody of the law, but in different counties in Kentucky. The question as to one, Peyton Polley, has been tried, his freedom established, and *he* has been returned.

The other cases are still pending. Though prepared, on our part, and trials urged at the last terms of the Kentucky Courts, as I am advised, the defence caused them to be stopped. I am informed there is no reasonable apprehension entertained, of an unfavorable result.

Counsel was likewise sent to Virginia to secure the four there, and to institute the proper proceedings for their recovery. After difficulties which proved nearly insurmountable, they were hunted out in the mountains of Sandy, remote from civilization, and suits commenced, which are yet undecided. Assurances have been given by counsel, likewise, of their favourable termination. Copies of portions, of all the correspondence on this subject, as well as the reports of those sent to both Virginia and Kentucky, will be transmitted to you, if desired.

Six individuals who were the authors of this outrage stand indicted for it in Lawrence Co. They were supposed to be lurking in Kentucky, as fugitives from justice. A requisition, therefore, was made on the Governor of that Commonwealth, and an agent dispatched to procure their arrest and return to Lawrence county for trial

The Governor of Kentucky promptly issued his warrant, but on search being made it was ascertained the fugitives had fled to parts unknown, but, probably west of the Missouri, and beyond the reach of process at the present time. An eye will be kept on their apprehension, at some future period, by the present Executive, and he will leave it as an inheritance to his successor, if not before taken, to spare no exertions to vindicate our sovereignty by the punishment of this lawless banditti of pirates.

I take great pleasure in saying that, from the information received, an honourable promptness and zeal were manifested, not only by the authorities, but by the respectable classes of citizens in both Virginia and Kentucky, for the surrender of the fugitives, and for a fair and impartial trial of the question of freedom or Slavery of this family.

It is supposed some time must now intervene, before these suits can be brought to a close. Should further important information be received, before your adjournment, it will be communicated.

LECTURES IN NEW YORK.—The readers of Mr. Pillsbury's letters will regret to learn, from that which we publish in another column, that the labours of himself and his companion in this State are, for the present, ended. Whether he returns home for a season of rest, or whether he is to continue his work elsewhere immediately, we are not yet informed. We hope, however, that when on duty as a lecturing agent of the American Society, the almost new audience which has listened to him, through this medium, may still have the benefit and enjoyment of his interesting and racy communications. We commend to the reader his reflections upon the state of the Anti-Slavery cause in that section of country where he has been recently travelling.

We have on hand a letter from S. S. Foster, the publication of which, for want of room, we are compelled to defer till next week. Mr. and Mrs. Foster, since coming into the State, have been labouring in Cayuga and Tompkins County, among a stiff-necked and perverse generation. They are now about to go to Chemung County, and their post-office address, for the present, will be Elmira. Their friends will be glad to hear, as we are informed by private letter, that Mr. Foster seems quite recovered from his recent indisposition. Mrs Foster, however, we are sorry to hear, has been ill from influenza, but is so far recovered as to be about to resume lecturing.

SENSIBLE MRS. SWISHELM.—Mrs. Swishelm, the editor of the *Pittsburg Visiter*, speaking of the visit of Kossuth to this country, and the enthusiams it excites among the people, says:

"Charity begins at home!" and we look upon this *furore* in favour of European liberty as another safety valve placed beside that of Foreign Missions to let off our extra zeal for the Lord, without disturbing the Slavery and heathendom of our own "free and happy" land. The people of this country should not be flattered with the idea that *they*, of all others, are the anointed High Priests of Liberty's temple. How dare *they* stand and hold up their hands, reeking with the blood of their own countrymen, and preach deliverance to the captives over the water! *They* go to Russia and Austria to talk about whipping women when they sell their own daughters in the shambles, and the statute books of one half of the States contain laws to regulate woman-scourging! We go to preach liberty in Austria, and

"May not the searching answer come
From turbaned Turk and fiery Russ,
'Go, loose your fettered slaves at home,
Then turn and ask the like of us!"

The Austrian government practices no oppression to compare with the law of our glorious republic which punishes with fine and imprisonment the crime of feeding the hungry and clothing the naked. Physician, heal thyself! When you have found out a remedy for the oppressions of your own land, send the receipt to Austria; and when you get that great beam out of the eye of your Republicanism, look to the mote which is blinding poor old doating Monarchy.

THE SLAVE MARKET.—The (N. Y.) *Express for the Union* is careful to keep its commercial readers informed of the state of the market in Virginia for the staple of that mother of States, statesmen and merchantable men, and quotes, as follows, in Wednesday morning's paper:

On Tuesday last, at a sale of negroes in Richmond, a negro man represented to be 30 years of age, perfectly sound, of good firmly stature, knocked off at $510. A girl of 17, tall, genteel and likely, for $600. The highest did not sell above $720. On Saturday last, 21 slaves, belonging to the estate of Wm. Pendleton, of Lynchburg, young and old, were sold at that place at the average price of $553 One negro man, without a trade, sold for $1028; a woman, with a child ten months old, sold for $950; and a girl, aged eleven years, for $600.

Whether the child of ten months was sold by the pound, or whether it was considered in the price of the mother, the *Express* is so careless as not to say. Is the editor of that paper most interested as a buyer or a seller in operations of this sort?

THE CHRISTIANA PRISONERS have been all discharged, the Grand Jury having returned the bills preferred against them as "No Bills." There remains only the case of Williams, now before the Court, in Philadelphia, to be decided, and, should he be acquitted, there will be an end of the matter, and Gorsuch, the slave-hunter, so far as the Government is concerned, will be unavenged. We look for a special message from the Governor of Maryland, advising the Legislature of that powerful State as to what steps are proper for it, in common with the South generally, to take in this emergency.

HON. C. F. CLEVELAND, M. C., will accept our thanks for a copy of the Patent Office Report for 1850-51.

Communications.

LETTER FROM PARKER PILLSBURY.

CLOSE OF THE LABOURS OF MESSRS. PILLSBURY AND FORD IN NEW YORK.

DEAR FRIEND GAY: We have closed our campaign in Herkimer county. In my last I spoke of the want of conscience or principle among the people, not only here, but almost everywhere in the county. In the towns we visited, we found several Free-Will Baptist churches. This denomination always admit all other sects to be pro-slavery, in a high degree; but for Free Will Baptists, exception to the charge is always claimed. The last *Morning Star* (or the last but one), the organ of the sect in New England, contains a most instructive illustration of the depth and character of its Anti-Slavery.

It seems something called a "Revival" has been going on in a town in New Hampshire for some months past. One of the preachers who figured in it, publishes the account of it; making himself the hero of the the story, though it appears others were concerned with him. After a very minute account of the proceedings, it is announced, with quite a boasting air, that from July to the present time, "in all the meetings, no exciting *ism*" has been so much as named.

This explains the quality of the revival. Everybody in the Granite State knows what "exciting isms" mean. Here, then, we have a *Performer of Revivals*, boasting that in all the Acts, from July to January, the cries and claims of the slave have been kept wholly out of sight and mind. And the same, doubtless, would have been true from "July to Eternity," had the farce been continued.

What more welcome tidings ever fall on the ears of Southern tyrants and oppressors, than such an account of such a revival? Would they not hold jubilees, the whole year round, if the entire Northern Church were rejoicing in similar visitations from July to January? A few such are reported in this County, but we have found them very harmless affairs; and most of the few converts are not from a class of the people whose presence in the Anti-Slavery ranks, would greatly add to our mental strength, or moral power.

The *Morning Star*, to which I have referred, contains another item that reflects the real Anti-Slavery character of the denomination. It seems to be the custom to report *each week* the sums contributed to the various benevolent objects under its supervision and patronage. Seventy-two dollars are acknowledged to the Foreign Mission Cause, twenty-five to some other, and *one dollar* to the Anti-Slavery Cause. And from what I have seen and known, in New York and New England, I am persuaded that the "one dollar" offering is more than proportionate to the zeal and interest which the denomination feel in behalf of down-trodden humanity and heathenism in our own land.

We experienced a spasm or two of this kind of Free-Will Anti-Slavery, amalgamated with Lutheranism, in the last meeting of our Herkimer County campaign, in Newville. It was evidently the design of some of the leading church members that we should be badly disturbed, if not broken up. A few squads of rowdies were placed in different parts of the house, who for sometime kept up their low and loud muttering and talking, stamping the feet, and occasionally calling out a prominent church member's name, who had from the beginning showed evident signs of a wish at least to see us thrown into confusion, but who lacked, apparently, both the courage and ability to accomplish his purpose. A few words kindly addressed to the young men, from a prominent citizen of the place, and a friend to the Cause, calmed the rising tempest, and seldom have I seen a more attentive congregation, or one on whom the words of truth seemed to make a deeper impression. The meeting was very large, and seemed in no haste to disperse, though we did not close untill near 10 o'clock.

Strenuous exertions have been made there to have a Revival Performance the present winter, but the project is now abandoned. The gospel of Humanity and of Anti-Slavery has taken too deep hold of the people for that. There is among the yonng a hopeful degree of intelligence and of the spirit of free inquiry: while the general preaching of the place has neither interest to awaken the mental faculties, nor power of principle to improve the heart. Some of the older people still cling so the husks and stubble of sect, though even among a portion of them there is evidently a secret satisfaction that their children are seeking a higher light and life.

But I am constrained to echo the lamentation I have often heard in many parts of the country, that the young men of this age, especially, are abandoning themselves to the lowest folly and vice. The low standard of religious faith and practice, the temporizing spirit of the pulpit, the corruption and profligacy of the "*great men*," as they are called, the Mexican massacre, the Fugitive Slave Law, California dreams of "fortunes made in a day," drunkenness, a most excessive and fatal use of tobacco, joined to the very worst kind of reading that constantly steams up from our putrescent press, all these are either causes or consequences, the final end of which will be most disastrous to the welfare of the rising and risen generation.

We have got to preach the whole gospel of "righteousness, Temperence, and judgment," already come, in order to abolish chattel Slavery. There is not virtue enough, nor goodness enough in most men now, certainly not in our ministry, to save even themselves. How, then, can they become the saviours of the slaves?

Yours, most devotedly,
PARKER PILLSBURY.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass., Jan. 19, 1852.

Miscellaneous News.

MEETING OF THE COLOURED CITIZENS OF N. YORK.

LAST night a public meeting of the coloured people was held in the Abysinian Baptist Church, Anthony street, for the purpose of receiving a report from the Delegates to the Albany Convention, as a report of the interview with Gov. Hunt. The meeting was called by the Committee of Thirteen, and was attended by about 150 persons.

On motion of Dr. McCune Smith, Mr. P. A. Bell was appointed to the Chair, and Mr. G. T. Downing was chosen Secretary.

The Chairman stated the object for which the meeting was called, and asked for a patient attention from the audience to the remarks of the different speakers.

Dr. Smith then proceeded to give an account of the visit of the Coloured Delegation to Albany, and stated that they were treated with the utmost kindness and respect. The Convention met in the Albany City Hall, and after its organization sent a message, worded with much politeness, to Governor Hunt, protesting against those portions of his Annual Message which related to the coloured population and citizens of the State. He then read a long address to the coloured people which was adopted by the Convention at Albany, and which it is intended to circulate extensively among the citizens of New-York, as well as among the members of the Legislature.

The address complained of the allusion made to coloured people in the Annual Message of the Governor of the State of New-York, and of the attempt to get an appropriation from the Legislature to aid the system of colonisation, as well as to the remarks of the Governor in reference to their degradation. It spoke of the attempts which were made to prevent the coloured people from making progress, by refusing them admission into certain colleges, and said that this was not the case with Presbyterian Colleges, or the Catholics, or the Baptists, for they even admitted coloured people who were qualified to the Ministry. It denied the statement in the Message of the Governor that the coloured population was decreasing, and, by a lengthy statistical account, proved that they were increasing in wealth, numbers and importance. It protests against a liberal appropriation from the Legislature for colonisation in Liberia, first, because such an appropriation would be opposed to the Constitution, which prevents the lending of money to any private association; second, because such an appropriation is not desired by fifty coloured persons in the State; third, because the colonisation scheme is a gigantic fraud, and fourth, because the coloured people of the State remember their brethren who are in bonds, and wish to remain by their side to render them assistance and relief.

Dr. Smith observed that the appointment of a Committee to wait on the Governor, and the adoption of the report, ended the first day's proceedings of the Convention.

A longer notice of this report, with the statistics, would have been given, but it was handed over to the Reporter of *The Herald*, and our Reporter was not allowed an opportunity to copy them.

Mr. Downing next gave an account of the proceedings of the Convention on the second day, and stated that the Committee who waited upon the Governor were treated by him kindly at the Executive Mansion, and well received. He read a statement of the interview, by which it appeared that the Governor introduced the conversation by observing that he was not so great an enemy as he was supposed to be toward the coloured people of the State. He had received a number of Colonisation documents sent to him, and for some time they remained without being read. When his attention was specially drawn to the subject, he became an enthusiastic admirer of the scheme, and in favour of promoting it for the good of the people. He had a desire to be the friend of the poor, and he wished to be considered the friend of the coloured men generally.

After reading this document, Mr. Downing said it was the opinion of the Committee that the Governor would not sign any bill for an appropriation of money for colonisation, should one be passed. Most of the day was taken up by remarks on the Governor's message, and in reference to the political action of the coloured population. During the whole of the second day the room was filled by an anxious audience of Irishmen, and from the applause, when anything was said about freedom, and the appeal which was made to them, it was hoped that they would render assistance for the benefit of the coloured man. He concluded by reading a resolution, which was passed, to the effect that the coloured population in wielding their political influence in the State in the cause of freedom, an influence which ought not to be disregarded, as it possessed 5,000 votes, regretted that it had been given in past years to the Whig party.

Dr. Smith said the Convention was attended by delegates from all portions of the State.

Rev. Samuel E. Cornish moved that the doings of the Convention should meet the approbation, as it deserved the thanks of the meeting, which was unanimously adopted. He was delighted with the proceedings as they showed how essentially they operated in obtaining their elevation. He felt that he was elevated, for he was conscious of their equality with other classes of men, of their progress and intelligence to an equal platform with their fellow-men. Elevation consisted in a moral consciousness of being equal to other people, and if the coloured people would unite and develop their powers, they would attain a proper standard in the physical, moral and political world. After telling his audience to trust in God, and make every effort, he concluded by saying that he would assist them to obtain all they desired.

Mr. Downing proposed the following resolutions and called upon Mr. Hamilton to respond:

Resolved, That in view of the increasing importance of the approaching Presidential election, it behooves us to make early and efficient efforts to bring to the polls the 5,000 coloured votes of the State.

Resolved, That it is to be hoped that some one may be put in nomination who will be a friend to progress and freedom.

Mr. Hamilton said that all people would be anxious to know who would be the nominee of the different parties, but he did not know which to advise them to support. He was a Democrat, and had never voted a Whig ticket and never would, but he could not advise them to go to the Democrats, and he could not advise them to go to the Free Soilers, for as they decided to let the South alone, and where opposed, to carry war into Africa, he could not sustain them. The Liberty party was one of pure principle, but they rushed forward without thinking of expediency, and whoever they may choose for their candidates would not be sustained. He was pleased with the address which had been read, and he supposed it would appear in *The Herald* to-morrow, for if it was not there it would not be anywhere, and they would buy *The Herald* to see. He alluded to *The Courier and Enquirer*, which had been led to speak of the coloured people unkindly by the traitorous scoundrels of the Colonisation Society, and which stated that it had 300 members ready for Liberia. He did not think any one, if they looked over the books, would find that number unless they squinted four ways (laughter).

The Chairman interrupted the speaker to observe that the Secretary of the Society, Mr. John H Roberts, told him he had not attended a meeting since he was appointed, and if his name was used it was without his consent.

Mr. Hamilton continued, observing that he knew that, and they would commit forgery or anything else to answer their purpose. The first movement they had to make was against the blacks forming the Colonisation Society, and after crushing them, they must crush the Secretary of State, Dan Webster. After alluding to several speeches made by Mr. Webster, he called upon them to be firm in opposing the Colonisation Society, which only spent $2,000 in sending people to Liberia, out of an income of $26,000, and all the rest went to feed pauper clergymen who preach trash to persuade the people to go to Liberia. He advised them to live in continual protest against the Colonisation Society and they would soon destroy it.

A coloured man named Hickman rose in the body of the meeting and did not like the flattery which told them they were elevated because they thought so. He wished it to be really known outside what position they were placed in, and he was glad to learn from the address that they were not yet demolished, as Dr. Brant, the scamp known as the Lion of the West, said they would die out in a few years. He thought something should be done, for wages were becoming lower on account of the great immigration, and the coloured man would be reduced and become a vagabond without a place to live in, and an outcast from Society.

Dr. Smith interrupted him, and asked if he thought himself a vagabond. Mr. Hickman—No. Dr. Smith—Are you an outcast? Mr H.—Yes. Dr. Smith—You have the right to vote, if you like, and to take an oath; how then are you an outcast? Mr. Hickman—Nobody cares for me. Dr. Smith—Are you going to Africa? Mr. H.—That is best known to myself. Dr. Smith—Are you a member of the Colonisation Society? Mr. H.—No. Mr. Downing—You are a better man than I thought you were.

A collection was then taken up, which amounted to about $6.

Dr. Smith said *The Courier* was friendly to Colonisation, and he was fearful *The Tribune* was going the same way. He referred to a speech of Mr. Webster's, whom he called Black Dan, in which he alluded to his black fellow-citizens, and he thanked him for acknowledging their citizenship.

A number of addresses were made by Charles L. Reason, Mr. Downing and Mr. Johnson, who hoped to see the people prosperous.

Mr. Topp, of Albany, addressed the meeting and called upon the coloured population to be united. He alluded to an argument made by Horace Greeley, that colonisation would show that coloured people were somebody, and though he was opposed to colonisation he wished them to think it good to that extent. He hoped the people would properly respect themselves, and by concentrating their efforts exercise their rights manfully.

Several other persons addressed the meeting and a dispute arose with regard to a Mr. Johnson, who was called a Colonisationist. This being ended the resolutions were passed and the meeting separated.
—*Tribune*

A DESPATCH to the New York *Tribune* says that President Fillmore has determined to run for re-election.

COLONISATION.—About two hundred free negroes were to leave New Orleans for Liberia about the middle of the present month, under the direction of the State Colonisation Societies.

THE mammoth Maine law petition was brought into the Senate Chamber yesterday, and conspicuously placed in the centre of the enclosed circle. The list is headed by the signature of George N. Briggs, and contains in all 133,512 names. Of these 57,007 are voters, the remaining 76,445 consist of men, women and children.—*Boston Post.*

BAD NEWS FROM LIBERIA.—The Colonisation Board at Washington have received despatches from President Roberts, by way of England, giving the unpleasant intelligence that an attack had been made on Fishtown by a native chief. Fishtown is on the Bassa Cove, about four miles from Grand Bassa, and about the same distance from Edina. The following is an extract from President Roberts' letter:

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, Monrovia, Nov. 6.

"A report has just reached here that Grando, yesterday morning, made an attack upon the new settlement at Fishtown, set fire to the village and killed eight or ten of the settlers. I have not yet learned the particulars. That the town has been attacked and burned I have no doubt; but that the number of lives lost has been exaggerated we have good reason to believe. We are, however, in a state of great excitement."

THERE are nine ladies attending medical lectures at the Homeopathic College in Pittsburgh.

Marriages.

TRUMAN—M'CLINTOCK.—At Waterloo, N. Y., on the 13th inst., by Friends' ceremony, James Truman, of Philadelphia, to Mary A. M'Clintock, daughter of Thomas M'Clintock, of the former place.

AVEZZANA—MORROGH.—At New York, Jan. 8th, Gen. J. Avezzana to Miss Fanny Morrogh, youngest daughter of the late John Morrogh, Esq., of Cork, Ireland.

Deaths.

SEAMAN.—On Saturday, 24th inst., in the 34th year of his age, William V., son of Wilet and Mary J. Seaman.

COOPER.—At Cooperstown, N. Y., suddenly, of asthma, on the 20th inst., Mrs. Cooper, the widow of the late J. Fennimore Cooper.

LOGSDON.—Near Mount Savage, Md., 13th inst., Mrs. Margaret Logsdon, upwards of 101 years of age. She leaves upwards of 500 descendants

JUDKINS.—At Parkman, Me., Oct. 27, Philip Judkins, a Revolutionary pensioner, aged 103 years, 1 month and 27 days.

Notices.

Anti-Slavery Convention in Cincinnati, Ohio.

FRIENDS OF FREEDOM—We invite you to meet in Convention in Cincinnati, on TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY, and THURSDAY, April, 27th, 28th, and 29th, 1852, commencing at 9 1-2 o'clock A. M., of the first named day,

We call upon you without distiction of party, to come together in the spirit of fraternal love, to inquire what more can be done for the three millions of slaves in these United States, and to take such advance measures as a pure Christianity, a true patriotism, and an exalted charity, require of sound hearted philanthropists.

How many of you will be ready to respond to this call? How many of you will turn aside for a few days from your ordinary avocations to give attention to the cries of humanity? How many of you will by some of the funds you ordinarily spend beyond your necessities, to save enough to take you to the Convention; or to send a representative from your neighbourhood? Come, Friends, prove your faith by your works, and let the poor, crushed slaves have some comfort of hope in hearing of a great and enthusistic Convention of devoted men and women from all parts of our extensive country, weeping over their wrongs, and pouring out words of fire in advocacy of their rights.

We offer you our hospitalities, and shall be happy to entertain our guests in a way to make their visit agreeable to them. Come, and let us lay our gifts upon the altar of an exalted and exalting faith, and renew our Christian vow, that whilst there is a slave to be liberated, there shall not be wanting an Abolitionist to strike the fetters from his limbs.

Yours for the right and the humane, for justice and for love.

Mrs. Sarah H. Ernst,
" Elizabeth Coffman,
" Julia Harwood,
" A. Mann,
" Mary M. Guild,
Miss. Kesiah Emory, } *Committee of Ladies.*

Edward Harwood,
John H. Coleman,
John Jolliffe,
Christian Donaldson,
Wm. Henry Brisbane,
Levi Coffin, } *Committee of Gent'n.*

Cincinnati, O., January 5th, 1852.

Annual Meeting of the Mass. A. S. Society.

The Nineteenth Annual Meeting of this Society will be held in the MELODEON, in Boston, on WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY and FRIDAY, January 28th, 29th and 30th, 1852—commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. All Auxiliary Societies are solicited to be strongly represented on the occasion. The widest and most cordial invitation to be present is extended to all those who 'despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood,' and who long to see this country presenting to the world a pure and glorious example, with not a slave upon her consecrated soil.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

Miscellany.

Extracts from Address of Dr. J. W. Francis,

At the Annual Meeting of the N. York Typographical Society,

On the 16th of January, 1852.

When I was a boy of ten years of age, I became acquainted with the Biography of Franklin. I had purchased at auction a Glasgow edition of his life and essays. I had read Robinson Crusoe, George Barnwell, The House that Jack Built, Æsop's Fables, the duodecimo edition of Morse's Geography, and other of the common publications of the times. No work that I ever perused from that juvenile period of my existence up to the present day, has ever yielded the peculiar gratification which Franklin's history gave me, and my reverence for our exalted sage has, through all subsequent inquiry into his actions and services, increased in intensity and admiration, in proportion as I have contemplated his wondrous character and his unparalleled achievements. I think I owe something to my mother for this happy appreciation of our Franklin. She was by birth a Philadelphian, and for years, by her residence in Arch street, was favoured with the opportunity of again and again beholding Dr. Franklin pass her door, in company with Dr. Rush and Thomas Paine. There, the children of the neighborhood would cry out, goes poor Richard, Common Sense, and the Doctor. It is recorded that Franklin furnished many thoughts in this famous pamphlet, while Paine wrote it, and Rush gave the title. There is something in the hereditary transmission of the moral and of the physical qualities, yet I have thought that the benevolent schemes of Rush, the intrepid patriotism of Paine, and the honest maxims of Franklin, the topics of daily converse at that day, had some influence in strengthening the principles which my mother inculcated in her children.

You have told me, gentlemen, that you would be gratified with some reminiscences touching New York—social, literary, personal, men and books, all having a bearing, more or less immediate, either on the progress of human development, or the character of our metropolitan city. I know not how to satisfy either you or myself. To do justice to the subject would require a different opportunity from the one now enjoyed, and leisure such as I cannot now command.

THE ASSOCIATIONS ABOUT NIBLO'S.

The locality where we are now assembled to-night has its associations. We meet this evening on the memorable spot of our early city's topography denominated the Bayard's farm, a property once in the possession of the affluent Bayards, of him who was companion in his strife with Gov. Leisler, whose death for high treason was the issue of that protracted contest. That he fell a martyr to freedom, our friend Charles F. Hoffman has ably demonstrated.

Within a few doors of this place on Broadway, very many years after, but within my recollection, lived that arch negotiator in public counsels, Talleyrand, the famous ambassador of France to the United States. He published a small tractate on America, once much read; he it was who affirmed that the greatest sight he had ever beheld in this country was the illustrious Hamilton, with his pile of books under his arms, proceeding to the court-room in the old City Hall, in order to obtain a livelihood, to expound the law, and vindicate the rights of his client.

Here too is the spot where, some short while after, the antics of the Osage tribes of Indians were displayed to the admiration of the belles and beaux of New York, and on which occasion my old colleague, Dr. Mitchill, gave translations into English of their songs and war-whoop sounds, for the increased gratification of the literary public of that day, when Indian literature stood not so high as in these times of Congressional approbation, and of Henry Schoolcraft, the famous and patriotic expositor of the redman's excellencies. I think I am safe in saying, that, also, near these grounds occurred the execution of Young, a play-actor, convicted of murder, a remarkable event in New York annals, owing to peculiar circumstances which marked his imprisonment in our old jail, now converted into the Hall of Records. There was, about the period to which I now refer, other occurrences of singular influence in those days.

Crowther and Levi Weeks were both confined in this debased prison because of high crimes, and many were incarcerated for debt. There was, nevertheless, an atmosphere of some intellect immolated within its cells; and for the first, and I believe the only time in this country, a newspaper was issued, for some months' duration, from its walls, entitled, "The Prisoner of Hope." The Wilberforce impulse of that crisis had much to do with this movement; and no abolition paper, of even later dates, pleads more earnestly in behalf of enslaved humanity, by graphic illustrations and literary talent, than did "The Prisoner of Hope." At that day, many newspapers had their specific motto; that of "The Prisoner of Hope" was in these words:

> "Soft, smiling Hope—thou anchor of the mind:
> The only comfort which the wretched find:
> All look to thee when sorrow wrings the heart,
> To heal, by future prospect, present smart."

Naturalists tell us that this eligible site was once characterized by the graceful foliage of the pride of the American forest, the lofty plane tree, the *platanus occidentalis*. It must further increase our admiration of the spot, to contemplate that through its shades strolled our Franklin, in company with that lover of rural scenery, the botanist Kalm, an occurrence not unlike that which marked the excursions of Linnæus with Hans Sloane, in the royal gardens, near London. Here, too, the wild pigeon was taken in great abundance: while in the Common (now Park) those primitive inhabitants of the city, the Beekman family, with the old doctor at their head, shot deer and other game in their field sports. But enough at present of the locality where this anniversary is held.

THE PERIODICAL PRESS.

The history of the American periodical press, if given with anything like fidelity and minuteness, would occupy several hours; it is a noble specimen of our triumphs as a free people, and of our determination so to remain. It has demonstrated the man of enlarged liberality, patriotic, and the advocate of popular rights. He attacked the measures of the provincial Governor and Council, was subjected to a prosecution by the officers of the Crown, and encountered a trial in 1735: Andrew Hamilton, the Recorder of Philadelphia, came to the city and successfully defended him. I have before stated that the late illustrious Gouverneur Morris considered the decision of that case in behalf of the press as the dawn of that liberty which subsequently revolutionized America. To the ladies now present, such lovers of sweet sounds, it may not be uninteresting to know that the first piano forte (harpsichord) imported into America, arrived in this city for the musical gratification of the family of the noble Zenger.

But I can say at this time little concerning newspapers: our worthy labourer in good work, Edwin Williams, has lately issued a memoir of much value on the subject, to which I must refer you. I regret his catalogue of these journals is somewhat defective. As he justly observes, our Historical Society is wonderfully rich in these interesting documents: our most precious treasures in that way are, unquestionably, the Rivington *Royal Gazette*, the old New York *Daily Advertiser*, containing debates on the State Constitution, the *American Citizen* and *Republican Watch Tower*, the New York *Evening Post* and the *Commercial Advertiser*, through a long series—progress of knowledge and the intrepidity of New Yorkers as much so as any one individual fact or occurrence we might summons for illustration.—Everybody within this Hall is aware that William Bradford was the first in time of the newspaper publishers in New York. His *Gazette* made its first appearance in Oct., 1725, four years after James, the brother of Benjamin Franklin, began the *New England Courant*; this being seventeen years after the commencement of the *Boston News Letter*, the first regular newspaper commenced in North America. I advert to this circumstance because we possess the completest file of that earliest of the Gazettes of our land now in existence; the copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society was presented to that institution by the famous antiquary, Dr. Eliot; that in our Historical Society was the series preserved by Professor McKean, of Harvard University, who bequeathed it to the Rev. T. Alden, from whom I purchased it and deposited it in our New York Historical Society.

From Franklin's representations, Bradford was a sorry individual, of low cunning and sinister; yet I must not deal harshly with him. His, I believe, was the first printing press set up in New York; he published the laws, and other works; he was the grandfather of Bradford, afterwards Attorney General of the United States, and as from his loins proceeded Thomas Bradford, the adventurous and patriotic publisher of Ree's Cyclopœdia, the most enterprising of the craft, and the greatest patron of engraving, we desire to hold him in grateful memory. Our second newspaper was the *New York Weekly Journal*, which was commenced three years after Bradford's. John Peter Zenger, its proprietor, was a German by birth, a palatine, and was something of a scholar; a The New York *American*, The *Independent Reflector*, containing the patriotic Essays on Toleration, by Wm. Livingston, of New Jersey; *The Time Piece* of New York, replete with invective against the Washington Administration, whose editor, Philip Freneau, verbally assured me that its most vituperative features were the suggestions of Jefferson, during the crisis in our public affairs, provoked by Citizen Genet. But I must hasten to other topics.

NOAH WEBSTER.

The most conspicuous editors and publishers of gazettes whom I have personally known were Noah Webster, now so famous for his Dictionary. At the time I knew him, some forty years ago, he was in person somewhat above the ordinary height, slender, wish grey eyes and a keen aspect; remarkable for neatness in dress, and characterized by an erect walk, a broad hat, and a long cue much after the manner of Albert Gallatin, as depicted in the engraving in Callander's Prospect before us. If with philologists he is deemed a man of merit, it may, with equal justice, be said he is to be recognised by medical men as an author of importance by his Histoey of Pestilence.

COLEMAN OF THE EVENING POST—THE FEDERALIST.

Next I may note William Coleman, usually called in earlier days, by his antagonist Cheetham, Field-Marshal Coleman. Mr. Bryant, the able editor of the *Post*, in his biography of the first fifty years of that prominent gazette, has well described him. He was a sensitive man, of great tenacity of opinion, which he cherished by intercourse with many of the leading patriots and politicians who were among us some thirty years ago. He almost leaned on the arm of the inflexible Timothy Pickering, and had in his younger days held communion with Hamilton, John Wells and Rufus King. I shall never forget how the death of the immortal Hamilton subdued his feeling. When Governeur Morris delivered his felicitous eulogy at the portals of old Trinity Church, over the dead body of the noble martyr, with grief in every countenance, and anguish in every heart, Coleman's acuteness of feeling paralyzed every movement of his frame, and drowned every faculty of his mind.

While on this topic, the decease of Hamilton, I may state an anecdote, the import of which can be readily understood. It was not long prior to the time of his death that the new and and authentic edition of the Federalist was published by Geo. F. Hopkins. Hopkins told me of the delicacy with which Hamilton listened to his proposition to print a new edition of these papers. "They are demanded by the spirit of the times and the desire of the people," said Hopkins. "Do you really think, Mr. Hopkins, that those fugitive essays will be read, if reprinted?" asked Hamilton. "Well give me a few days to consider," added he. "Will this not be a good opportunity, Gen. H.," rejoins Hopkins, "to revise them, and if so, to make perhaps alterations, if necessary, in some parts?" "No, sir; if reprinted, they must stand exactly as at first; not a word of alteration. A comma may be inserted or left out, but the work must undergo no alteration whatever."

A few days elapsed when, on the next interview, General Hamilton agreed to the reprint, with the express condition that he himself must inspect the revised proofs. Not a word was ever altered. "You think something of the papers," says Hamilton to the printer. "Mr. Hopkins, let them be issued. Heretofore, sir, I have given the people common milk; shortly hereafter, sir, I shall give them strong meat." What the Union lost by the fatal duel, Deity only knows.

Coleman was a writer of grammatical excellence, though occasionally sadly at fault in force of diction. Under the influence of some perverse conceits, he would labour for months to establish some theoretical doctrine, or elucidate a useless proposition. He would underrate the best services to the republic, if rendered by a political opponent. Chancellor Livingston found no quarters with him for his instrumentality in the Louisianian purchase. He would ride a hobby to death. It was hardly in the power of mortals ever to altar his opinion when once formed. That yellow fever was as contagious as small pox; the scull cap (the *scutellaria*) was a specific for hydrophobia; that Napoleon wanted the requisites of a military chieftan, were among the crotchets of his brain. The everlasting tractates which he put forth on these and other subjects would, in the present day of editorial prowess, scarcely be tolerated by a chronicle depending on public patronage. Coleman had read extensively on medical topics, and was the principal writer of that able and elaborate Criticism on Miller's Report on the Yellow Fever of New York, addressed to Gov. Lewis, and printed in the American Medical and Philosophical Register, vol 2d.

During the many years that I read the *Evening Post*, I can summon to recollection no contributions on any subject made to that paper, that ever awakened one half the attention which was enlisted by the productions of our poet Halleck, and the lamented Dr. Drake, under the title of Croaker, and Croaker & Co.

CHARLES HOLT.

For numerous years I have well known Charles Holt, once the editor of the *Bee*, during John Adams' administration, and afterwards of the New York *Columbian*, during De Witt Clinton's gubernatorial career. I am unable to tell you whether he is still in the land of the living. I would estimate his age as approaching 90 years. He was a lump of benevolence, and a strenuous advocate of the great internal improvement policy of New York. He comes forcibly on my mind this evening, because in 1798 he wrote a history of the yellow fever of New London, and every now and then I find him quoted in medical books as Dr. Holt, just as his predecessor, who wrote on the yellow fever of Philadelphia, of 1793, stands in bold relief as Dr. Matthew Carey.

NAT. CARTER.

Nathaniel Carter is vividly impresssd on my recollection: he had very considerable literary taste; was many years editor of the New York *Statesman*; and after his visit in Europe, published his letters on his tour in two large volumes. His merit was only equalled by his modesty. He was strongly devoted to Dewitt Clinton and the Erie Canal: with becoming feelings he cherished much regard for his eastern brethren, and was the first, I think, who introduced his personal friend, our constitutional expositor, Daniel Webster, to the Bread and Cheese Lunch founded by J. Fenimore Cooper; where sometimes met, in familiar disquisitions, such minds as those of Chief Justice Jones, P. A. Jay, Henry Storrs, Prof. Renwick, John Anthon, Charles King, John Duer, and others of a like intellectual calibre. Carter was of a feeble frame, struggling with pulmonary annoyance, from which he died early. He was little initiated in the trickery of political discussion. His heart was filled with the kindliest feelings of which nature is susceptible.

* * * * * *

JOHN PINTARD.

He convened the first assemblage of our citizens at the Park, for the purpose of obtaining a public expression of opinion in favour of projecting the Canal policy of the union of the Erie and the Hudson; and this at a period when the spirit of party strife had widely scattered doubts and ridicule on the contemplated movement.

In the war of 1812, when paper money in small bills largely became our currency, he was the individual who caused the imprint of those well known mottoes, "mind your own business," "never despair," "economy is wealth," and others of a like import, chiefly drawn from Franklin, to surround the designated value of the money. He had, I believe, done a like service for our continental times. He carried the measure for having the British names of our streets changed to the modern they are now known by. I have noticed these few circumstances concerning Mr. P., because I wish it to be impressed upon the memory, that the editors and proprietors of gazettes are often zealous in good measures not necessarily connected with their immediate vocation.

Pintard enjoyed an active intimacy with booksellers and authors. He and Freneau, a native also of this city, and his contemporary, had often been in close communion, as patriots of the revolution. This essential difference, however, obtained between them. Pintard was federal; Freneau anti-federal. Old Rivington had often a hard time with them. The sordid tory could neither endure the conservative republican principles of Pintard, nor the relentless bitterness and sarcasm of Freneau.

I shall only add, that he was a student of many books, an observer of men, in every walk of life. He was of grave thought, yet often facitious in conversation. During forty years of medical practice, I have rarely fell in with one richer in table-talk, or fuller of topics on life and letters. In his death, he manifested the strength of his religious faith, and resigned his spirit with a benignant composure. But I am forbidden to enlarge on the many excellencies and services of the public-spirited John Pintard.

THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

Were we to dwell upon the excellence of a Gazette according to its merits, I should have much to say of the *Morning Chronicle*, a paper established in this city in the year 1802. The leading editor was Dr. Peter Irving, a gentleman of refined address, scholastic attainment, and elegant erudition. It exhibited great power in its editorial capacity, and was the vehicle of much literary matter from the abundance and ability of its correspondence. If I do not greatly err, in this paper, Washington Irving first appeared as an author, by his series of dramatic criticism, over the signature of Jonathan Oldstyle. The only poetic writer of whose effusions I now retain some recollection was Miss Smith, the sister of the late Thomas R. Smith, Esq. They were known by the signature of Clara; and in bringing together the effusions of the early female muse, Dr. Griswold, in praiseworthy zeal on behalf of American literature, might well have increased in value his interesting collection by the products of Miss Smith.

LANG'S GAZETTE—DR. KUNZE.

The omission, of these reminiscenses, of some notice of John Lang, would be so quickly discovered, that I am necessarily compelled to dwell for a moment on the character and services of one who for a long succession of years, filled a notable place in newspaper annals. Lang was of Scotch descent, the place of his birth, I believe, New York. For some forty or more years, Lang's *Gazette* was recognised as the leading mercantile advertiser, and the patronage which it received from the world of business was such as doubtless secured ample returns to its proprietor. The forte of the paper was unquestionably its attention to the shipping interests of the commercial emporium. As a journal of either political or miscellaneous matter, it was sadly deficient. Lang adhered to his arrivals as the prominent object of consideration, and the mightiest changes of revolutions, action or opinions, found but a stinted record in this widely diffused gazette. Rarely, indeed, did our acknowledged politicians, or essayists, seek its columns for the promulgation of their opinions, and its editorial displays were generally tormentingly feeble. Nevertheless, it was in this gazette, then under the control of Lang and McLean, that General Hamilton first gave to the public his numbers of the Federalist. There is often to be found in one daily issue of the *Post*, the *Courier and Enquirer*, the *Journal of Commerce*, the *Herald*, the *Tribune*, the *Express*, or the *Times*, of these days—more thought, more disquisition, and real knowledge which awakens the contemplation of the statesman and politician, than the *New York Gazette* contained during a twelvemonth—yet it flourished.

The traits of Lang's character were unwavering devotion to his pursuits; no one could excel him in the kindness of his demeanour; unconscious of the penury of his intellectual powers, he, at times, unwittingly became the pliant agent of designing individuals, and from the blunders into which he was led, his baptismal name John, seemed easily converted into that of Solomon, by which specification much of his correspondence was maintained. He bore the pleasantry with grateful composure.

A characteristic anecdote must suffice for Lang. The scholastic discussions which occurred on the question of the commencement of the present century, awakened some attention among the mathematicians and astronomers abroad, and of many among us. The learned and pious Dr. Kunze, after much investigation, addressed a communication on the vexed question to Mr. Lang. He had adverted to the Gregorgian style in his letter, and had mentioned Pope Gregory. The faithful *Gazette* printed the article Tom Gregory; the venerable Dr. hastened to his friend, and remonstrated on the injury he had done him, and requested the erratum to specify instead of Tom Gregory, Pope Gregory XIII. Again an alteration was made, and the *Gazette* requested its readers, for Tom Gregory, to read Pope Tom Gregory XIII. One more attempt at correction was made, when the compositor had its typography so changed as to read Tom Gregory, the Pope. The learned divine, with heavy breast, at a final interview with the erudite editor, begged him to make no further improvement, as he dreaded the loss of all the reputation his years of devotion to the subject had secured him. This Dr. Kunze was long a prominent minister of the German Lutheren Church of this city. He was the preceptor in Philadelphia of Henry Stuber, the author of the continuation of the life of our Socrates, Dr. Franklin; a work executed with much ability. He was a physician and a most delectible character. Many years ago, I was so fortunate as to procure some material for a biography of him, and Dr. Sparks has courteously given them a place in his valuable edition of Dr. Franklin's works.

Justice to the departed Lang demands that I should add that he was a gentleman of the old school, of great moral excellence, as a husband and a father most exemplary: deeply devoted to the interests of this city, and cherishing a philanthropic spirit on every becoming occasion. He died at an advanced age; but his career was shortened by the great fire, in this city, of 1835. The vast destruction of his precious New York laid heavy at his heart.

MAJOR NOAH.

Major Noah has so recently departed from among us, and the expectation that his active life will soon find a biographer, is so general that it seems incompatible with the present occasion to speak at any length concerning him. I knew him well some thirty-five years. By profession a Jew, he was tolerant of all religions with equal amenity; his natural parts were of a remarkable order; few excelled him in industry, none in temperance and sobriety. He wrote for many gazettes, and established several. By his Book of Travels he became known. His work on the Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt was widely read. He was lively in converse, and a social companion. His literary composition, though not always pure in style, often showed a nice sense of the ludicrous and a love of humour; he abounded in anecdote. Mr. Matthews, from his personal knowledge, has not overdrawn the character of Noah. He possessed the organ of benevolence on a large scale. It is to be regretted that, by his political vacillations, his talents finally lost all influence in public councils and affairs of state.

THE NEW YORK AMERICAN.

We are susceptible of the pleasures and the pains of memory; a retrospect will confirm the declaration on many occasions; it is even so in our contemplations on a newspaper. In no instance have I been more sensible of this than when considering the origin, the career and termination of the New York *American*. It was commenced some thirty-two years ago; its prominent projector was Johnson Verplanck, a gentleman of rare refinement, of a conspicuous family, a native of this city, of superior classical attainments, and of mental qualities of a robust order. With the countenance of able and enlightened associates, the *American* soon acquired the character of marked ability, of great independence in opinion, and of untrammelled freedom at all times in its scrutinizing investigations of public acts, and the products of literature. He was one of the writers of the Buck Tail Bards, a satirical poem of Hudibrastic flavour. Mr. Verplanck died in 1829. The *American* fell now into other hands, and for a long succession of years was editorially sustained by one who had often previously enriched its columns by his lucubations. I allude to Charles King, now President of Columbia College. It was soon demonstrated to the satisfaction of its patrons, that, although under a new government, and its supplies derived from another source, its nutrition was not less wholesome nor productive. For many years it claimed the admiration of the conservators of constitutional right, and of critical taste.

It was conducted with a manly boldness. Its tone gave dignity to political disquisition, though its manner was sometimes dreaded by the objects of its animadversion. If its censures were occasionally severe, its approbation was the higher appreciated. It was a record of historical value; nor can I comprehend why, in this age of universal reading in journalism, its career was closed. Its many volumes must hereafter be ranked with the once famous *National Gazette* of Robert Walsh, and the *National Intelligencer* of Gales & Seaton. Its distinguished editor, satisfied that for so long a period he had performed his part in the promotion of sound doctrines, with singleness of purpose, in behalf of the state and nation, may have sought that relief from mental care which is often secured by change of occupation. When I cast a thought over the hours I have spent in reading the *American*, I feel as Whitfield has expressed himself on a different occasion—"I am glad, but I am sorry. I am glad that I have had so long the pleasure of being informed by its perusal; I am sorry that the opportunity no longer exists."

JAMES CHEETHAM.

In closing this short list of Public Editors, I feel justified in deviating for a moment in my chronology by a word or two on the character and death of him whom I have ever considered the ablest writer we have had in our public journals. He has been already incidentally mentioned. I allude to James Cheetham. He succeeded as editor of Greenleaf's paper, under the name of the *American Citizen*. Cheetham was an English radical, had left Manchester for this country; was by trade a hatter.

His personal appearance was impressive; tall, athletic, with much of a martial bearing in his walk, a forehead of great breadth and dimensions, and penetrating grey eye, he seemed authoritative wherever he might be. He arrived in this country at a period of perplexing excitement—the times of Adam's administration and Jefferson's entrance of the government. He found many to countenance his radicalism, as Teunis Wortman, James Dennison, Charles Christian and others—men whom we might call liberals, both in religion and in politics. Accidental circumstances made me well acquainted with him so early as in the summer of 1803. He was then universally known as the champion of Jefferson, of Governor George Clinton, and of DeWitt Clinton. He was a most unflinching partizan writer; with earnestness advocated the advantages arising from the possession of Louisiana, countenanced Blind Palmer, the lecturer on Deism, and congratulated the public on the return to America of Thomas Paine. He ever remained the active advocate of old George Clinton, but his friendship was not long after turned into hatred of Paine, and his life of that once prominent but wretched individual, demonstrates the rancor of his pen. The murderous death of Hamilton, I think, had a strong influence on him. No sooner had he breathed his last than Cheetham extolled him as the greatest of patriots. Many speak of Cheetham as at times holding the pen of Junius; a declaration sustained by many of his political assaults and essays. He possessed a magnificent library, was a great reader, and studied Burke and Shakespeare more than any other authors. I know nothing against his moral character.

His death, however, was most remarkable: he had removed with his family to a country residence, some three miles from the city, in the summer of 1809. Within a few days after he exposed himself to malaria, by walking uncovered by his hat through the fields, under a burning September sun. He was struck with a complication of ills; fever, congestion of the brain, and great cerebral distress. The malignancy of his case soon foretold to his physician, Dr. Hosack, the impossibility of his recovery. Being at that time a student of medicine, I was requested to watch him: on the second day of his malady, his fever raging higher, he betrayed a disturbed intellect. On the night of the third day, raving mania set in. Incoherently he called his family around him; addressed his sons as to their peculiar avocations for life; giving advice to one ever to be temperate in all things; upon another urging the importance of knowledge. After midnight he became much worse, and ungovernable. With herculean strength he now raised himself from his pillow; with eyes of meteoric fierceness, he grasped his bed covering, and in a most vehement but rapid articulation, exclaimed to his sons, "Boys, study Bolingbroke for style, and Locke for sentiment." He spoke no more. In a moment life had departed. His funeral was a solemn mourning of his political friends.

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BOOK PUBLISHERS—DUYCKINCK.

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